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OF THE CHURCH,

FIVE BOOKS.

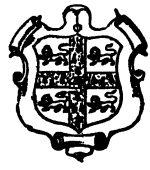
BY

RICHARD FIELD, D. D.,

DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE FIRST THREE BOOKS.



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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

THE life of a scholastic Theologian, as it contains, generally, but little incident, so it furnishes few materials for an interesting memoir. The writer of a Book such as that which is now republished, passes his days in laborious, but retired, research: and as his labours are noiseless, so the results of them are not found in any striking effects which the historian of his own or of a future generation can celebrate.

The Author of the following valuable Work was born October 15, 1561, in the parish of Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire, "of a family ancient, and of good repute and esteem in the county," as we learn from his son and biographer Nathaniel Field[1]; who then introduces us at once to the life of laborious study which his father passed, by adding, that "his ancestors were blessed with length of days;" and that "he also might have attained unto a greater age, being of a strong, healthy con-

[1] See "Some Short Memorials concerning the Life" of Dr Field, by his son, N. Field; published by Le Neve. Lond. 1716—17. Also, Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," and "Fasti."

stitution, had not his studies, together with multiplicity of business and frequent journies, hindered him from taking that care of his health which otherwise he might have done." At the age of sixteen he was sent to Oxford, where, according to Antony à Wood, he entered at Magdalen College, and subsequently migrated to Magdalen Hall; although, in his son's Memoir, no mention is made of his having resided at any period of his academical course at Magdalen College. Wood, however, makes the above statement in the following express terms; "He was entered a Student in Magdalen College, in 1557; where, continuing in drudging at his book till he was about Bachelor's standing, he retired to Magdalen Hall." That Wood was correct in this assertion is placed beyond a doubt by the following extract from the Matriculation-book of the University. 'Coll. Magdal. Richardus Fyeld, Cantius, pleb. fil. an. 19. 4^{d}.'

It is evident that Field was held in high repute as a Theologian at an early period of his career, for he was appointed to read "the Catechism Lecture in Magdalen Hall, which, though a private Lecture for that particular House, was heard with a great concourse out of the whole University." Among this number of voluntary auditors he reckoned Dr John Reynolds, who was either then, or

soon after, Professor of Divinity and President of Corpus Christi College, and who, though much his senior in years and academical standing, was attracted, as were many others, by the high reputation which Field had acquired; a reputation which seems to have been well-merited, for "he was skilled in the knowledge of School-Divinity, and yet withal he was a singular preacher, though it be a rare thing for the same man to attain unto perfection in both these kinds." His character, as an indefatigable student, lived in the recollection of the University long after he had ceased to reside; for, we are told, that when young men came to reside at Magdalen Hall, "Dr Field's rooms" were shewn them as an object of interest; as, doubtless, the sight of them would be, to many, an incitement to the cultivation of the same studious habits which had procured for their former occupant so high a character in the University.

He seems to have resided in Oxford continuously from his first entrance, until he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; about which time he became Reader of Divinity in the Cathedral of Winchester: and, subsequently, in 1594, was appointed to the like office in Lincoln's Inn: and in the same year he was married to the daughter of the Rev. Richard Harris, Rector of Hardwicke, Bucks, and formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford. Two years after this ap-

pointment he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, being at that time a member of Queen's College, to which he had either previously transferred his name, or removed thither from Magdalen Hall for the purpose of taking this degree as a member of that society[1]. In the distinguished and difficult post of Divinity Reader at Lincoln's Inn, he so recommended himself, as to obtain, either through the interest or patronage of one of the Benchers of that House, Mr Richard Kingsmill, the Rectory of Burghclere, in Hampshire. The Rectory of St Andrew's, Holborn, was soon afterwards offered to him, "a place of greater value," says his son, "and more in the way of preferment: but he chose rather to continue where he was, as liking better a more retired life[2], where he might, with more freedom, serve God and follow his studies. There he spent the most of his time ever after until the day of his death."

In the year 1598, he received, from the Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, an announcement that Queen

[1] The precise time when he took his several degrees is as follows: B.A. Nov. 18, 1581: M.A. June 2, 1584: B.D. Jan. 14, 1592: D.D. Dec. 7, 1596: respecting which latter degree, Wood quotes the following memorandum. 'Richard Field, of Qu. Coll. sometimes of Magdalen Hall.'

[2] "Latere voluit et prodesse,
Suæ contemptor et auctor famæ."

Elizabeth had appointed him to be Chaplain in ordinary to her Majesty; an honour which was soon followed by another mark of the royal favour, in his appointment to a prebend in the Chapel of Windsor: to which office he was reappointed on the accession of King James. When the Hampton Court Conference was about to be held, the King summoned him to take a part in that council: and, in the same year in which the Conference was held (1604), when James commanded his presence at Oxford, to take a part in the Divinity Act which was held in that University; the subject of the Disputation being "whether saints and angels know the thoughts of the hearts of men;" it is recorded that the Disputation between Dr Field and Dr Aglionby was one of the best that had ever been heard; and that it was listened to with great attention and delight by all that were present on the occasion.

The high estimation in which he was held by the King was still further marked, when, in the year 1610, his royal patron conferred upon him the Deanery of Gloucester; where, however, he resided but little; only preaching there four or five times in the year; but always commanding a "great and full auditory; the people of that place much honouring and loving him." His time seems to have been divided between his parish of Burghclere and Windsor.

In the latter place, he was greatly looked up to by the Dean and Prebendaries, in which body there were, at that time, several men of distinguished learning, who were capable of estimating his merits. One of that number spoke of him as "the most profitable man that ever he conversed with in his life, from whom most was to be learned." He reckoned among his most intimate friends, his near neighbour, Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton, "one that entirely loved him:" also, Sir Henry Nevill, who resided not far from Windsor, a man of high ability, who had been sent by Queen Elizabeth as ambassador to France; who is said to have delighted in Field's society: he was "overjoyed whenever he heard that the Doctor was come into his house: nor could his children bring him more welcome news." His name, we are told, elicited a playful compliment from two of his greatest admirers; the former of whom, King James, the first time he heard him preach, said, "Is his name 'Field'? This is a *field* for God to dwell in:" while Fuller, in his Holy War[1], quoting from the Third Book 'Of the Church,' calls him "that learned divine whose memory smelleth like a *Field* the Lord hath blessed."

In the year which preceded his appointment to the Deanery of Gloucester, Dr Field had been selected by the Bishop of Winchester, his diocesan, to be one

[1] Book IV. Ch. V.

of the preachers before King James on occasion of his Majesty's visit to Hampshire, having an eye both to the claims which Field presented for such a preference, and, to the satisfaction which the King would feel at the selection; in which course, as well as in the motives for it, the bishop was imitated in the year 1611, by the Dean of Windsor, Dr Giles Thompson, who, on receiving an intimation of the King's pleasure that the Canons of Windsor should preach in their order, when his Majesty should next visit Windsor, wrote to Dr Field to prepare himself, not only for his own turn, but to supply the places of those Prebendaries who, from illness or any other cause, might be hindered from fulfilling the office. When he was at Windsor, he preached oftener than any other of the Prebendaries: and there, as at Gloucester, "the church was never fuller than when he preached."

It appears that King James had once entertained an intention of sending Dr Field into Germany, "for the composing of the differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists;" "many of them" (as his son adds) "being such as might be composed if men would but rightly understand one another." Though the King seems to have afterwards altered his purpose in this respect, it was not from any diminution of his esteem towards Field, for whom, not long after, he designed the bishopric of Salisbury, though Dr

Abbot was finally appointed to that See. The royal favour still attended him; and would have placed him in the bishopric of Oxford, as we know by a letter which is on record, written in 1616 by Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, to Dr Field, in the which that See was proposed for his acceptance. But his death terminated the prospect, while it extinguished not any desire which he had ever cherished, of further preferment. "It pleased God" (writes his son) "to preserve him unto a better place. He never ambitiously sought after preferment: all that he had was, in a manner, cast upon him. I doubt not but that God hath bestowed upon him that which was the chief of all his desires, and that he is now in rest and happiness." It is said that when King James heard of his death, he was very sorry, and blamed himself that he had not promoted him; and that his words were, "I should have done more for that man." Bishop Hall says that the Deanery of Worcester, which he held, had been sought, though without success, for Dr Field by the friends of the latter; and adds, with a modesty which the character of that excellent man at once decides to have been genuine, "That reverend and better-deserving Divine was well satisfied with greater hopes; and soon after exchanged this mortal estate for an immortal and glorious one."

Two years before his own death, Dr Field had to lament the loss of his wife, to whom an affectionate son has paid a high tribute in the Memoir of his father. After the lapse of two years he was a second time married to the widow of Dr Spenser, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, whose name is known as the Editor of the First Five Books of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; and of whom Izaak Walton, in his Life of Hooker, makes mention. This second alliance was of a strikingly short duration; Dr Field dying in a little more than a month after his marriage, on the 21st of November, (as Wood states; on the 15th, according to his son's account), 1616; aged fifty-seven years. His burial-place is at Windsor. Over his grave was laid a slab of black marble, with this inscription engraved on a copper plate affixed thereto: "Richardus Field, hujus olim collegii canonicus, et ecclesie Gloucestrensis decan. Verè doctor theologiæ, et Author librorum quinque *De Ecclesia*. Una cum Elisabetha Harrisia sanctissima charissima conjuge, ex qua sex reliquit filios, filiam unicam. Hic sub communi marmore expectant Christi reditum, qui felicitatem, quam ingressi sunt, adventu suo perficiat ac consummet. Obierunt in Domino, ille anno salutis 1616, ætatis suæ 55: hæc, anno salutis 1614, ætatis suæ 41.'

We are informed that there existed a great

friendship between Field and Hooker; "which might very well be (writes his son), they agreeing so well in their judgments, and being both of so suitable a temper, of deep and profound learning, and of remarkable humility."

It were both needless and unbecoming to eulogize a Book whose worth will be determined by its readers. It shall suffice to remark, that its Author seems to have anticipated the rank which has ever been assigned to his Work, when, in reply to a friend who would have dissuaded him from the undertaking, on the ground that he was inviting a controversy of which it would be difficult to foresee the end, he said, "I will so write as they shall have no great mind to answer me."

His comparatively premature death interrupted a purpose, from which the Church might have reaped great benefit, had he been permitted to execute it. It was his intention to have stated the main points of dispute between the Romanists and ourselves; the title which he had designed for his Work being, "A View of the controversies in religion which, in these last times, have caused the lamentable divisions of the Christian world." Of this Design all that remains is the Preface, with some propositions and conclusions of 'Election and Reprobation;' both which are to be found in Le Neve's publication.

This same writer adds one circumstance from Fuller, unknown to Wood; namely, that Dr Field was one of the first Fellows nominated by King James the First, for the intended foundation of Chelsea College.

It only remains to mention, that this Work contains two Appendices, each of considerable length: the former subjoined to the third; the other, to the fifth Book. The latter Appendix is of special importance, being a virtual defence of the whole Work, in the Author's replies to the attacks of Romish opponents.

In this Edition, in order to preserve the integrity of the original Work, those notes in which Dr Field professes to give an abstract only of the general sense of the authors whom he cites, as well as those in which he gathers detached portions out of the entire passage, have been preserved without any alteration; care, however, having been taken, in each instance, to ascertain the correctness of the reference.

OF THE

CHURCH,

FIVE BOOKES.

By

RICHARD FIELD, DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, AND SOMETIMES

Deane of GLOCESTER.

THE THIRD EDITION.

OXFORD,

Printed by WILLIAM TURNER, Printer to the famous Vniversitie: M.DC.XXXV.

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

HIS GRACE, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, &c.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THAT especial favour which your Grace was pleased to shew unto the Author of this work while he lived, hath emboldened me to commend the work itself, as it is now enlarged, unto your gracious protection. And though the Author's particular obligement had not directed me in my choice, I know not unto whom I might more fitly have presented it than unto your Grace, who, in a more peculiar manner than others, have undertaken the protection of scholars. One example, amongst many, this author might have been, had he lived but a little longer, of your honourable care, for the advancement of learning and encouragement of scholars. The volume which I present unto your Grace, for the bulk and bigness is not great, especially if it be compared with the writings of our adversaries, whose voluminous works would make the ignorant believe, that they had engrossed all learning unto themselves. But as many times we may find in little men that strength of body and vigour of mind which is wanting in those of greater stature, so experience telleth us, that amongst books, the greatest are not always the best.

"Sæpius in libro memoratur Persius uno,
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide."

And those that are acquainted with the writings of our adversaries are not ignorant, how, for the most part, their great volumes are stuffed. If a man will take the pains to read them, like those that dig in mines for gold, he must be content[1] to find *parvum in magno*, but a little gold in a great deal of unprofitable earth; of this work I think I might safely say thus much, that it compriseth much in a little: but I intend not a panegyric in the praise thereof. If I give it not that praise which it deserves, my near relation unto the Author may be my excuse, seeing whatsoever I should say would seem rather to proceed from affection than judgment. What my opinion of it is, I think I have sufficiently expressed, in that I have thought it not unworthy your Grace's patronage. And thus, praying for the continuance of your Grace's prosperous and happy estate, I remain

Your Grace's most humble and obliged servant,

NATHANIEL FIELD.

[1] ["*expect* to find" in edition of 1628.]

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HIS GRACE,

PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL ENGLAND.

MOST REVEREND IN CHRIST,

THE consideration of the unhappy divisions of the Christian world, and the infinite distractions of men's minds, not knowing, in so great variety of opinions, what to think, or to whom to join themselves, (every faction boasting of the pure and sincere profession of heavenly truth, challenging to itself alone the name of the Church, and fastening upon all that dissent, or are otherwise minded, the hateful note of schism and heresy), hath made me ever think, that there is no part of heavenly knowledge more necessary, than that which concerneth the Church. For, seeing the controversies of religion in our time are grown in number so many, and in nature so intricate, that few have time and leisure, fewer strength of understanding, to examine them; what remaineth for men desirous of satisfaction in things of such consequence, but diligently to search out which, amongst all the societies of men in the world, is that *blessed company of holy ones*, that *household of faith*, that *spouse of Christ*, and *Church*

of the living God, which is *the pillar and ground of truth;* that so they may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her judgment. Hence it cometh, that all wise and judicious men do more esteem books of doctrinal principles, than those that are written of any other argument, and that there was never any treasure holden more rich and precious, by all them that know how to prize and value things aright, than books of prescription against the profane novelties of heretics: for that thereby men that are not willing, or not able, to examine the infinite differences that arise amongst men concerning the faith, have general directions what to follow, and what to avoid. We admit no man, saith Tertullian in his *Book of Prescriptions,* to any disputation concerning sacred and divine things, or to the scanning and examining of particular questions of religion, unless he first shew us of whom he received the faith, by whose means he became a Christian, and whether he admit and hold the general principles wherein all Christians do, and ever did agree: otherwise prescribing against him, as a stranger from the commonwealth of the Israel of God, and having no part nor fellowship in this business. But as in the days of the fathers, the Donatists, and other heretics, including the Church within the compass of Africa, and such other parts of the world where they and their consorts found best entertainment, rejected all other from the unity of the Church, excluded them from hope of salvation, and appropriated all the glorious things that are spoken of it to themselves alone; so in our time, there are some found so much in love with the pomp and glory of the Church of Rome, that they fear not to condemn all the inhabitants of the world, and to pronounce them to be anathema from the Lord Jesus, if they dissent from that Church, and the doctrine, profession, and observations of it; so casting into hell all the Christians of Græcia, Russia, Armenia, Syria, and Ethiopia, because they refuse to be subject to the tyranny of the Pope and the court

of Rome, besides the heavy sentence which they have passed against all the famous states and kingdoms of Europe, which have freed themselves from the Egyptiacal bondage they were formerly holden in. These men abuse many with the glorious pretences of antiquity, unity, universality, succession, and the like; making the simple believe that all is ancient which they profess, that the consent of all ages is for them, and that the bishops succeeding one another, in all the famous Churches of the world, never taught nor believed any other thing than they now do; whereas it is easy to prove, that all the things wherein they dissent from us, are nothing else but novelties and uncertainties; that the greatest part of the Christian world hath been divided from them for certain hundreds of years; that none of the most famous and greatest Churches ever knew, or admitted, any of their heresies; and that the things they now publish as articles of faith to be believed by all that will be saved, are so far from being Catholic, that they were not the doctrines of that Church, wherein they and we sometime lived together in one communion, but the opinions only of some men in that Church, adulterating the doctrine of heavenly truth, bringing in and defending superstitious abuses disliked by others, and serving as vile instruments to advance the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome. Wherefore, for the discovery of the vanity of their insolent boastings, for the confirming of the weak, the satisfying of them that are doubtful, and that all men may know that we have not departed from the ancient faith, or forsaken the fellowship of the Catholic Church, but that we have forsaken a part to hold communion with the whole, (led so to do by the most prevailing reasons that ever persuaded men, and the greatest authority on earth), I resolved to communicate to others, what I had long since in private for mine own satisfaction observed, touching the nature of the Church, the notes whereby it may be known, and the privileges that pertain to it. These my simple labours, most reverend in

Christ, I thought it my duty to offer to your Grace's censure, before they should present themselves to the view of the world; that so, either finding approbation, they might the more confidently make themselves public, or otherwise be suppressed, like the untimely fruit that never saw the sun. The condition of the times wherein we live is such, that many are discouraged from meddling with the controversies of religion, because they are sure (besides the vile slanders, wicked calumniations, and bitter reproaches of the common adversaries) to pass the censures of those men, who, though they will do nothing themselves, yet in the height of a proud and disdainful spirit, with many a scornful look, smile at the follies of other men's writings, as they esteem them. The sinister judgments of either of these sorts of men I shall the less regard, for that it pleased your Grace so lovingly to accept, and so favourably to approve these my poor pains, bestowed for the clearing of sundry questions concerning the Church, which by your direction and appointment I first entered into. It hath been of late the vaunt of the adversaries of the religion established among us, that they have written many books against us and none have been found to oppose anything against them, and that they desire nothing more, than by writing or disputing, to try the goodness of their cause. But, I doubt not, but this National Church, the government whereof, under our most gracious sovereign, is principally committed to your fatherly care, shall yield men more than matchable with the proudest of the adverse faction; who, being animated and heartened by your favour, and guided by your directions, shall no longer suffer these proud Philistines to defy the armies of the Lord of Hosts. For though they proclaim their own praises with loud sounding trumpets, that might have been piped with an oaten straw; and though they magnify themselves, as if they were the only paragons of the world, and as if all wit and learning had been born with them, and should die with them; yet

whosoever knoweth them, will little regard the froth of their swelling words of pride and scorn, seeing when they have done vaunting, they have done their best, and that which remaineth is little worth; their allegations being, for the most part, nothing but falsifications; their testimonies of antiquity, the marks and notes of their ancient forgeries; their reasons, sophisms; their reports, slanders and wicked calumniations; their threats, the venting of their malice, and pouring out of their impotent desires; their predictions, only manifesting what they wished might be, but no way shewing what shall be. In the later days of our late dread sovereign Elizabeth, of famous and blessed memory, all their books were nothing but fearful threatenings of bloody confusions and horrible dissipations of Church and commonwealth, which they hoped for, and looked after, so soon as it should please God to cut off the thread of her blessed life. But, *He that sitteth in heaven hath laughed them to scorn*, and branded them with the mark of false prophets. For Elizabeth is gathered to her fathers in peace, full of days and full of honour, and yet they have not bathed their swords in blood as they desired; but God hath disappointed all their purposes, frustrated their hopes, and continued our happiness. Joshua hath succeeded Moses; and Solomon, David; and he that disposeth the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whom he will, hath set upon the throne of majesty amongst us, a king of a religious, virtuous, and peaceable disposition, to whom he hath given a wise and understanding heart, large as the sands on the sea-shore, whose delight is in the law of the Lord, who hath chosen his *testimonies to be his counsellors;* whose constant resolutions, in matters of faith and religion, daunteth the enemies of it; whose admirable understanding in things divine, more than for many ages the world hath found in any of his rank, giveth us good assurance, that no frauds of any deceivers shall ever be able to seduce or mislead him; whose blessed progeny and royal issue maketh us hope, that the

felicity of these united kingdoms shall continue as long as the sun and moon endure; which, whosoever desireth and seeketh to procure, *peace be upon him, and upon the Israel of God.* Thus craving pardon for this my boldness, and humbly beseeching Almighty God long to continue your Grace's happy and prosperous estate, and to make you a glorious instrument of much good to his Church, I rest,

Your Grace's in all duty,

RICHARD FIELD.

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ERRATA.

PAGE	4.	Note 2, *for* "obsequuntur" *read* "adsequuntur."
—	6.	— 1, *for* "concludit" *read* "conclusit."
—	20.	— 1, *for* Psal. xxvii. *read* Psal. lxxvii.
—	56.	— 1, *after* "ostentaverit" *dele* .
—	87.	— 4, include within brackets.
—	135.	— 1, transfer] *after* p. 387, to end of sentence.
—	153.	— 2, include within brackets.
—	156.	— 1, *for* fol. lxxi. *read* fol. clxxi.
—	192.	Chap. XIV. insert *after* "NAMED" in Title [1] to correspond with note.
—	330.	— XLI. in Title, *for* "BISHOPS" *read* "BISHOP."

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE CHURCH CONSISTING OF MEN AND ANGELS IN THE DAY OF THEIR CREATION.

WHATSOEVER cometh within the compass of man's conceit and apprehension, is either the universal perfection of being itself, wherein there is nothing intermingled of not being, nothing of possibility to be that which already it is not, which is the nature of God, whose name is Jehovah[1], "which is, which was, and is to come[2]:" or else it is finite, limited, and restrained to a certain degree, measure, and kind of being, which is the condition of all things under God. So that as we cannot think aright of God, but with resolved and undoubted assurance that *He is;* (for what can be, if being itself be not?) that He is infinite, and hath no limitation of His perfection; (for within what bounds or limits shall we compass that wherein the fulness of being is found?) that He is from everlasting to everlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end of His continuance; for how should that have either beginning or end, wherein there is nothing intermingled of not being, and so no time nor moment can be imagined wherein it was not or shall cease to be? So we cannot think of anything else but as finite and limited, having certain bounds set unto it, within the compass whereof all the perfection it possesseth and enjoyeth is contained; as having being after not being, and so receiving it from another; as limited in continuance as well as in measure and kind of perfections; having set and certain terms, before which it was not, and a necessity of ceasing to be, if the hand that upholdeth it withdraw itself but for a moment. Hence it followeth that such is the nature and condition of all things under God, that they are mixed and compounded of being and not being, perfection and imperfection, fulness and

[1] Exod. iii. 14, vi. 3. [2] Rev. i. 8.

want. For howsoever they want nothing which to the perfecting of their own kind is required, yet they fail and come infinitely short of that perfection which is found in God, the fountain of all being; yea, much is denied to every of them, which is bestowed on others, and even in respect of themselves they are oftentimes that in possibility, which actually they have not attained unto. Seeing, therefore, the imperfection of each thing presupposeth perfection before it, out of which it is taken, whereunto it tendeth and endeavoureth to attain, and whereof it faileth; all things under God having imperfection found in them, and having some part of His divine perfections committed unto them, but not in sort answerable to that whence they are taken, and wherein they are originally found, look back, and hasten to return to that beginning, whence they came forth, and with fixed eyes, bowed knees, and hands lifted up, present themselves before Him that liveth for ever, "which is, which was," and "which is to come;" with great joy and exultation pouring forth and returning thankful praises to him, "for whose sake they were created[1];" desiring continuance of that they are, supply of that they want, and thinking it their greatest happiness to have but the least resemblance of His divine perfections.

[2] The proceeding of each thing from the first is like to a straight line drawn out in length which of all other is the weakest; neither can it be strengthened, but by being redoubled and bowed back again, whereby it draweth nigh to the nature of a circular line, which of all others is the strongest, as wherein each part yieldeth stay and support to the other. All things, therefore, after they have come forth from the presence of God, taking view of themselves, and finding their own imperfect and defective nature, fearing to

[1] Rev. iv. 8, 11.

[2] Gaspar Contareni, Prima Philosophia, lib. vii. [p. 174, ed. Paris, 1571. "Processus cujusque rei ab ente est veluti linea quædam recta, quæ imperfecta existit sui natura; ideoque si perfecta futura sit, necesse est ut in circulum flectatur. Unumquodque igitur vires quasdam proprias habet, quibus operationem pro sui natura promit, qua maxime Deum æmulatur atque attingit. Nonnullæ vero perfectius hoc obsequuntur, ac interiorem quemdam circulum peragunt valde propinquum entis centro immobili, quædam vero exteriorem ac longius a centro distantem circulum. Imperfectissima vero reflexam quandam lineam æmulantur, quæ ad perfectionem circuli minime pervenit."]

remove too far, fly back unto Him that made them, for support, comfort, and stay; and, like a reflected line, return towards the presence of Him, "for whose sake they are and have been created;" yet is there nothing found in degree of nature inferior unto man, that returneth so far, and approacheth so near, as to know, see, and delight in God, as He is in Himself; but all rest contented, and seek to discern, know, and enjoy no more of His divine perfections, than in themselves they possess and partake of Him. So that they express not the nature of a perfect circle, in which the lines, drawn forth in length, are in such sort reflected and bowed back again, that in their return they stay not, till they come to the very same point whence they began. This is peculiar to men and angels, which are carried back with restless motions of unsatisfied desires, and stay not till they come to the open view, clear vision, and happy fruition of God their creator. "O Lord," saith Augustine, "thou madest us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless and unquiet till they rest in Thee[1]."

The reason of this so different condition of men and angels from other things, whoso taketh a view of the divers degrees and sorts of things in the world, cannot but with exceeding great sweetness of delight observe and discern.

There is nothing, which, in sense of want and imperfection, doth not endeavour to return towards God, from whom all good and happy supply of defect and want proceedeth; neither is there anything found in the world, (all things being full of defect) which is not carried with some inclination of desire, either seeking that it hath not, or desiring the continuance of that it hath already received from Him, in whom the fulness of all happy good is found. From hence it cometh, that all things incline, tend, and move to that place, condition, and estate, wherein they may enjoy the uttermost of that perfection they are capable of. This inclination of desire ariseth and groweth in each thing out of the form thereof, which giveth it that degree, measure, and kind of being it hath; neither is there any form whence some inclination doth not flow. Those things, therefore, which have no form, but that which giveth them their natural being, different and

[1] "Quia fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te." Confess. lib. i. § 1.

distinct from other things, have no inclination of desire, but natural, to enjoy and possess themselves and continue that they are, to grow and increase till they come to the full period of their natural perfection, and to continue the same, by turning into their own substance and nature such things, by addition whereof they may be nourished, increased, and continued. But those things, wherein, besides their natural forms giving them being, by reason of their more spiritual and immaterial nature, the forms and formal resemblances of other things do shine and appear, have far more large desires, growing out of the forms thus shining into them, and apprehended by them. And as they are of more or less largeness of apprehension, so are their desires larger and more free, or shut up within the narrower compass.

[1] The most perfect and excellent creatures in the world, below the condition of man, have not a general apprehension of all things, but only of some outward sensible things, in the getting or declining whereof their good doth stand and consist; and, therefore, have their desires likewise contained within the same straits, and are like prisoners subject to the will of him that restraineth them, which cannot go at large whither they will. But man is by condition of his creation

[1] Contareni, De Libero Arbitrio, [p. 599. "Quare cum hac boni universi comprehendendi facultate bruta careant animantia, et bona tantum quædam particularia sibi apta et congruentia cognoscant, et appetitionem etiam angustam ipsorumque cognitioni accommodatam habeant, libero præditi arbitrio dici nulla ratione possunt. Et ut qui carcere aut alio quovis loco clausus detinetur, liber esse non dicitur, sed ejus voluntati subjectus est, qui illum concludit, ita bruta quoque animantia arbitrium non liberum, sed terminatum et certis quibusdam angustisque limitibus circumseptum habent. Jam vero cum contrariorum alterum ex altero cognosci facile possit ad hominem ipsum accedamus, quem suapte natura arbitrii libertate præditum esse plane intelligemus. Nam cum sit hominis voluntas facultas quædam et appetendi vis quæ intellectum sequitur, et ad omnia se extendit ad quæ ipse se extendit intellectus, cumque intellectus amplissimus sit, quoniam intelligit omnia, voluntas etiam ipsa amplissima est, seseque ad omnia bonorum genera, atque ad bonum ipsum universum extendit; quare præcedente cognitione in finem ut finis est fertur, et media quæ sibi accommodata fini videntur eligit. Spontanea ergo voluntate homo, proprio neque ullo termino circumscripto, sed amplo ac libero movetur arbitrio, quod tum ad singula tum ad universum bonum extenditur."]

free, having no bounds of any one kind of good things within the compass whereof he is inclosed; but as his understanding is so large, that it reacheth to all things that are, though in kind never so different, and number never so numberless; so his desires have no limitation to things of any one kind alone, but are freely carried to the desiring of whatsoever in any kind or degree of goodness appears to be good. And because, in this multiplicity of good things, nothing is good, but as partaking of the chief good; nothing better than other, but as coming nearer unto it; therefore, for the direction of all his desires, that he may rightly value and prize each thing, either preferring or less esteeming it according to the worth thereof; it is necessary that he know and desire as the chief good, that which indeed is the chief and principal good, the measure of all the rest, before he can rightly discern the different degrees of goodness found in things, and so rightly prefer one before another.

And this, doubtless, is the reason why no other creatures but only men and angels are capable of felicity and bliss; because the greatest good they know or desire is but some particular thing, and that no better than themselves; but men and angels, in whom so great perfection of knowledge is found, that they apprehend the whole variety and multiplicity of things, and all the different degrees of goodness in them, never have their desires satisfied till they possess and enjoy that sovereign, infinite, and everlasting good, by participation whereof all things else in their several kinds and degrees are judged good. This glorious society of men and angels, whom the Most High God, passing by all his other creatures made capable of felicity and bliss, calling them to the view, sight, and enjoying of Himself, is rightly named *Ecclesia, cœtus evocatus*, the Church of the living God, the joyful company of them among whom His greatness is known, and His name called upon, the multitude which, by the sweet motions of His divine grace, He hath called out to the participation of eternal happiness.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE CALLING OF GRACE, WHEREBY GOD CALLED OUT BOTH MEN AND ANGELS FROM THE REST OF HIS CREATURES, TO BE UNTO HIM A HOLY CHURCH: AND OF THEIR APOSTASY.

[1] ALL other things seek no higher perfection nor greater good than is found within the compass of their own nature, by nature's guiding, without the help of any other thing attaining thereunto; but men and angels, which seek an infinite and divine good, even the everlasting and endless happiness, which consisteth in the vision of God, "at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore," cannot attain their wished good, which is so high and excellent, and far removed from them, unless, by supernatural force, which we call *grace*, they be lifted unto it. For though, by nature, they know God, so far forth as by His effects and glorious works He may be known; yet, as He is in Himself, they know Him not, further than in the light of grace and glory He is pleased to manifest Himself unto them, thereby admitting them to the joyful sight, and blessed view of His glorious majesty[2], "which dwelleth in light that no creature," by itself, "can approach unto." [3]This is true and perfect happi-

[1] "Virtus naturæ ordinat actum suum in bonum per naturam, quia non est supra naturam; et ideo potest in illum ordinem et sine dispositione nova ferre ad locum. Actus rationalis creaturæ meritorius oportet quod ordinetur ad bonum, quod est supra ipsum; quod est summum bonum et infinitum. Quia ergo non est possibilis extensio rationalis creaturæ supra seipsam, ideo non est ei possibile per naturam ut ordinet suum actum, seu perveniat in suum finem: et ideo necesse est ut juvetur gratia." *Et post:* "Duplex est cognitio de Deo. Una per effectus suos, et hæc est sine gratia; alia est per præsentiam sui apud animam, hæc autem non potest esse sine gratia. Præsens autem apud animam dicitur in quantum presentat, sive præsentem facit beatitudinem quæ est in ipso; quod est tripliciter, vel in habitu tantum, ut in parvulis; vel in affectu tantum, ut in adultis; vel in habitu, et affectu et intellectu, ut in beatis." Alex. de Hales, pars iii. [q. 69, m. 1, art. 1].

[2] "Ostendam tibi omne bonum." Exod. xxxiii. 19.

[3] Joan. Picus Mirandula, Heptaplus l. vii. [p. 47, ed Basil. "Vera autem et consummata felicitas ad Dei faciem contuendam, quæ est omne bonum.—Ad hanc angeli attolli quidem possunt, sed non pos-

ness, to see the face of God, which, to behold, is the height of all that good which any creature can desire. To this the angels may be lifted up; to this they cannot ascend by themselves; to this man cannot go; to this he may be drawn, according to that our Saviour delivereth of himself, "No man cometh unto me, unless my Father draw him." Those things which are inferior unto man, can neither attain by themselves, nor be drawn, nor lifted up to the partaking of this so happy and joyful an estate. The vapour of water goeth up on high, but not unless it be drawn with the beams and sweet influence of the sun; but more gross and earthly things can neither ascend of themselves nor admit into them these heavenly beams to raise and draw them up. Among bodily substances, some are carried only with a straight and direct motion, either to the highest or lowest places of the world; which motion expresseth the condition of those things to the which God hath denied the knowledge and immediate enjoying of Himself; which are established in the perfection of their own nature, and therein rest without seeking any further thing. Some with circular motion, by which they return to the same point whence they began to move. The motion of these expresseth the nature and condition of men and angels, who only are capable of true happiness, whose desires are never satisfied, till they come back again to the

sunt ascendere. Quare peccavit Lucifer dicens: *Ascendam in cœlum.* Ad hanc ire homo non potest, trahi potest; unde Christus de se qui est ipsa felicitas dixit: *Nemo venit ad me nisi Pater meus traxerit illum.* Bruta autem et quæ infra hominem, nec ire, nec trahi, ad illam possunt.—Potest vapor conscendere in altum, sed non nisi attractus radio solis; lapis et corpulenta omnis substantia neque radium usquequaque admittere neque per illum tolli in sublime potest. Hunc radium, gratiam appellamus.—Habent autem philosophi hujus doctrinæ manifestum exemplum. Corpora enim aliqua in rectum, aliqua in orbem feruntur. Motus rectus, quo elementa ad proprias sedes vehuntur, figurat felicitatem, per quam in propriæ naturæ perfectione res stabiliuntur. Motio circularis per quam corpus ad eundem unde abscessit terminum circumvolvitur, expressissima imago est veræ felicitatis, per quam creatura ad idem principium redit a quo processerat. In orbem non moventur nisi immortalia et incorrupta corpora. Ad Deum non redit nisi immortalis et æterna substantia.—Haud aliter nobis atque angelis accidit. Tales enim sumus natura ut non circumagere nos et reflectere, sed circumagi motrice vi gratiæ et reflecti in Deum possumus."]

same beginning whence they came forth, till they come to see God, face to face, and to dwell in His presence. None but immortal and incorruptible bodies are rolled with circular motions; none but angels that are heavenly spirits, and men whose souls are immortal, return back to the sight, presence, and happy enjoying of God their Creator. Each thing is carried in direct motion, by nature's force, in circular, by heavenly movers. Every thing attaineth nature's perfection, by nature's force and guidance; but that other, which is divine and supernatural, consisting in the vision and fruition of God, they that attain unto it, must impute it to the sweet motions and happy directions of divine grace.

This grace God vouchsafed both men and angels in the day of their creation, thereby calling them to the participation of eternal happiness, and giving them power that they might attain to the perfection of all happy and desired good if they would, and everlastingly continue in the joyful possession of the same. But such was the infelicity of these most excellent creatures, that knowing all the different degrees of goodness found in things, and having power to make choice of what they would, joined with that mutability of nature which they were subject unto, in that they were made of nothing; they fell from the love of that which is the chief and greatest good to those of meaner quality, and thereby deprived themselves of that sweet and happy contentment they should have found in God[1]; and denying to

[1] August. De Civitate Dei, lib. xii. [cap. 6. "Proinde causa beatitudinis angelorum bonorum ea verissima reperitur, quod ei adhærent, qui summe est. Cum vero causa miseriæ malorum angelorum quæritur ea merito occurrit, quod ab illo qui summe est aversi, ad seipsos conversi sunt qui non summe sunt.—Hic primus defectus et prima inopia, primumque vitium ejus naturæ: quæ ita creata est, ut nec summe esset; et tamen ad beatitudinem habendam eo qui summe est, frui posset, a quo aversa, non quidem nulla, sed tamen minus esset, atque ob hoc misera fieret." [It is probable that Hooker had this passage of Augustine impressed on his mind, when he wrote the following passage: "It seemeth, therefore, that there was no other way for angels to sin, *but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves;* when, being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honour, the memory of their subordination unto God, and their dependency on him, was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God, could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of angels, therefore, was pride." Eccl. Polity, Book I. Ch. iv.]

be subject to their great sovereign, and to perform that duty they owed unto him, were justly dispossessed of all that good, which from Him they received, and under Him should have enjoyed; yea, all other things which were made to do them service, lost their native beauty and original perfection, and became feeble, weak, unpleasant, and intractable, that in them they might find as little contentment as in themselves. For, seeing nothing can prevail or resist against the laws of the omnipotent Creator; no creature is suffered to deny the yielding of that, which from it is due to God[1]. For either it shall be forced to yield it, by right using of that which from Him it received, or by loosing that which it would not use well; and so, consequently, if it yield not that by duty it should, by doing and working righteousness, it shall by feeling smart and misery. This then was the fall of men and angels from their first estate, in that by turning from the greater to the lesser good, they deprived themselves of that blessedness, which, though they had not of themselves, yet they were capable of, and might have attained unto, by adhering to the chief and immutable good, and so by their fault fell into those grievous evils they are now subject unto; yet in very different sort and manner.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CHURCH, CONSISTING OF THOSE ANGELS THAT CONTINUED IN THEIR FIRST ESTATE BY FORCE OF GRACE UPHOLDING THEM, AND MEN REDEEMED.

THE fall of angels was irrecoverable; for without all hope of any better estate or future deliverance out of those evils (into the bottomless gulph whereof, by their rebellious sin they plunged themselves), they are "reserved in chains

[1] August. De Libero Arbitrio, lib. iii. cap. 15. ["Quia enim nemo superat leges omnipotentis Creatoris, non sinitur anima non reddere debitum. Aut enim reddit bene utendo quod accepit, aut reddit amittendo quo bene uti noluit. Itaque si non reddit faciendo justitiam, reddet patiendo miseriam."]

of darkness, to the judgment of the great day." But concerning the sons of men, the "Lord knew whereof they were made, and remembered that they were but dust." He, looking upon them with the eyes of pity, and in the multitude of His compassionate mercies, said of them, as it is in the prophet Jeremy, "Shall they fall, and shall they not arise? shall they turn away, and shall they not return? as high as the heaven is above the earth, so great was His mercies towards them: as far as the east is from the west, so far removed He their sins from them, He redeemed their life from hell, and crowned them with mercy and compassion[1]."

[2]The reason of this so great difference, as the schoolmen

[1] Jerem. viii. 4. [Psalm ciii. 4, 11, 12.]

[2] Alexand. de Hales, pars iii. q. 1, memb. 2. ["Plus nocuit peccatum Adæ quam peccatum angeli, ergo majus malum.—Omnibus hominibus nocuit peccatum Adæ, sed peccatum angeli non nocuit nisi tantum uni personæ, sc. ipsi personæ peccantis.—Intellectus angeli deiformis est, et hoc est quia supra tempus; et ita accipit totum simul, et non hoc post illud, vel hoc ex illo.—Sed intellectus hominis est in tempore, et ita conferendo accipit; unde non accipit totum simul.—Cum ergo judicium fiat ab intellectu, patet quod angelus secundum statum suæ conditionis judicat de re non in tempore et de re tota simul; et judicando de ipsa videt eam totam simul, ergo certissime judicat. Si ergo peccat in judicando, patet quod peccat ex certissima malitia; nullo ergo modo potest excusari, ergo ejus peccatum est irremediabile. Non autem sic est de homine. Unde cum totam rem non simul videat potest decipi in suo judicio, et ita cum peccatum ejus aliquo modo possit excusari, non est irremediabile. Homo peccavit appetendo omnem scientiam Dei. (Gen. iii. *Eritis sicut Dei scientes bonum et malum*). Sed angelus peccavit appetendo omnipotentiam; unde (Esai. xiv. *Ascendam in cœlum*). Omnipotentiam autem suam nunquam voluit communicare alicui creaturæ.—Scientiam autem omnem vult communicare creaturæ; ad illam enim est homo ordinatus in gloria, sed non ad potentiam omnium. Unde et Christus secundum quod homo, non habuit omnipotentiam sed habuit omniscientiam.—Similiter patet quod homo non peccavit seipso, sed alio mediante, sc. uxore. Uxor similiter seipsa non peccavit, sed suasa a serpente. Justum ergo videtur ut qui per alium cecidit, per alium relevetur. Sed angelus per seipsum peccavit et propter hoc per alterum relevari non debuit.—In primo homine erat tota natura humana; ideo ipso perdito tota esset natura perdita et corrupta. Sed non esset decens divinæ misericordiæ, et summæ bonitati, ut naturam rationalem humanam ex toto perire sineret; et ideo non punivit statim primum hominem. Sed corrupto angelo et perdito non est cum illo tota angelica natura perdita et corrupta."]

think, is: First, for that the angels are not by propagation one from another, but were created all at once, so that of angels some might fall and others stand: but men descend by generation from one stock or root, and therefore the first man falling and corrupting his nature, derived to all his posterity a corrupted and sinful nature; if, therefore, God had not appointed a redemption for man, He had been wholly deprived of one of the most excellent creatures that ever He made; whereas among the angels, notwithstanding the apostasy of some, He held still innumerable in their first estate. Secondly, the angels fell of themselves, but man by the suggestion of another. Thirdly, the angels in the height of their pride, sought to be like unto God in omnipotency, which is an incommunicable property of divine being, and cannot be imparted to any creature. But men desired only to be like unto God in omniscience and the general knowledge of all things, which may be communicated to a creature as in Christ it is to his human soul, which, notwithstanding the union with God, yet still remaineth and continueth a created nature; and therefore the degree of sinful transgression was not so grievous in the one, as in the other. Fourthly, the angels were immaterial and intellectual spirits, dwelling in heavenly palaces, in the presence of God and the light of His countenance, and therefore could not sin by error or mispersuasion, but of purposed malice, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost, and is irremissible. But man fell by mispersuasion, and being deceived by the lying suggestion of the spirit of error. Fifthly, the angels have the fulness of intellectual light; when they take view of any thing, they see all that any way pertaineth to it; and so do all things with full resolution, that they never alter nor repent: but man who findeth out one thing after another, and one thing out of another, doth dislike upon farther consideration that which formerly he liked. Whereupon the schoolmen note that there are three kinds of wills: the first of God, which never turneth nor altereth; the second of angels, that turneth and returneth not; the third of men, that turneth and returneth. Sixthly, there is a time prefixed both to men and angels, after which there is no possibility of altering their estate, bettering themselves, or attaining any good. Now as death is that time prefixed unto men, so was the first

good or bad deliberate action to the angels; that who would, might be perpetually good; who would not, no grace should ever after restore them again. *Hoc est angelus casus quod hominibus mors*, saith Damascene[1].

The reason why God limited so short a time to them, and assigned so long a time to men, was, because they were spiritual substances, all created at once, and that in the empyreal heavens; and so both in respect of nature, condition, and place, were most readily prepared, disposed, and fitted for their immediate, everlasting glorification; so that it was fit there should be set unto them a short time to make choice of their future state, never after to be altered again; to wit, till their first deliberate conversion unto Him, or aversion from Him. But man being created in a natural body, to fill the world with inhabitants by procreation, being set in a place far removed, even in an earthly paradise, had a longer time set him, before he should be in final stay, or have his last judgment pass upon him; to wit, till death for particular, and till the end of the world for general judgment, when the number of mankind shall be full. These are the reasons that moved Almighty God, that spared not the angels, to shew mercy unto the sons of men.

So that as God, in the day of the creation, called forth all, both men and angels, from among the rest of His creatures, to whom He denied the knowledge and enjoying of Himself, that these only might know, fear, and worship Him in His glorious temple of the world, and be unto Him a selected multitude and holy Church; so when there was found amongst these a dangerous apostasy, and departure from Him, He held of the angels so many as He was pleased[2], and suffered them not to decline or go aside with the rest; and raised up, and severed out of the mass of perdition, whom He would among the sons of men. The angels now confirmed in grace, and those men whom in the multitude of His mercies He delivereth out of the state of condemnation, and reconcileth to Himself, do make that happy society of blessed

[1] Joannes Damascenus, De Fide Orthodoxa, [ii. 4. ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁ θάνατος, τοῦτο τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἡ ἔκπτωσις.]

[2] 1 Tim. v. 21, [διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων,] and Jude 6. "Jansenius has devoted several chapters to this subject in his Augustinus, ix. 10. sq."

ones, whom God hath loved with an everlasting love. This society is more properly named the Church of God, than the former, consisting of men and angels, in the state of that integrity wherein they were created, in that they which pertain to this happy company, are called to the participation of eternal happiness, with the calling of a more mighty, potent, and prevailing grace than the other[1]. For whereas they were partakers only of that grace, which gave them power to attain unto, and continue in the perfection of all happy good, if they would, and then *in tanta felicitate et non peccandi facilitate*, in so great felicity and facility of not offending, left to themselves to do what they would, and to make their choice at their own peril; these are partakers of that grace, which winneth infallibly, holdeth inseparably, and leadeth indeclinably, in the ways of eternal blessedness.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE CHURCH OF THE REDEEMED.

ALL these, as well angels that stood by force of grace upholding them, as men restored by renewing mercy, have a most happy fellowship amongst themselves, and therefore make one Church of God: yet, for that the sons of men have a more full communion and perfect fellowship, being all delivered out of the same miseries, by the same benefit of gracious mercy; therefore, they make that more special society, which may rightly be named the Church of the

[1] "Major [quippe] libertas est necessaria adversus tot et tantas tentationes, quæ in paradiso non fuerunt, dono perseverantiæ munita atque firmata, ut cum omnibus amoribus, terroribus, et erroribus suis vincatur hic mundus. Hoc sanctorum martyria docuerunt. Denique ille Adam et terrente nullo et insuper contra Dei terrentis imperium libero usus arbitrio, non stetit in tanta felicitate, in tanta non peccandi facilitate. Isti autem non dico terrente mundo, sed sæviente ne starent, steterunt in fide: cum videret ille bona præsentia quæ fuerat relicturus, isti futura quæ accepturi fuerant non viderent. Unde hoc, nisi donante illo." August. de Corrept. et Gratia, ch. xii.

redeemed of God. This Church began in him in whom sin began, even in Adam, the father of all the living, repenting after his fall and returning to God[1]. For we must not think, that God was without a Church among men at any time; but so soon as Adam had offended, and was called to give an account of that he had done, (hearing that voice of his displeased Lord and Creator, "Adam, where art thou[2]?" that so he might know in what estate he was by reason of his offence,) the promise was made unto him "that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head[3]." Yet for that Abel was the first that the Scripture reporteth to have worshipped God with sacrifice, and to have been divided from the wicked, in whom God had no pleasure, even "cursed Cain[4]," that afterwards shed his innocent blood, therefore we usually say the Church or chosen company of the redeemed of the Lord began in Abel: who being slain by Cain, God restored His Church again in Seth, in whose race and posterity he continued his true worship till Noah[5]. In whose time the wickedness of men being full, He brought in the flood and destroyed the whole world[6], Noah only and his family excepted, whom He made "a preacher of righteousness" to the world, before and after the flood, and chose from among his children Shem his eldest son, in whose race He would continue the pure and sincere knowledge of Himself, and the expectation of that promised seed that should break the serpent's head.

This Shem was the father of all the sons of Heber[7] (of whom the people of God were afterwards named Hebrews), who was also, as some think, Melchisedech, in whose posterity the true Church continued[8]; so that God vouchsafed to be called the God of Shem, till the days of Abraham[9]; in whose time, there being a great declining to idolatry after the flood, as there was in the days of Noah before the flood, so that the defection was found not only among those that descended

[1] Wisd. x. 1.
[2] Gen. iii. 9.
[3] Gen. iii. 15.
[4] Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8.
[5] Gen. iv. 25.
[6] Gen. vii.
[7] Gen. x. 21.
[8] Hieron. in Epist. ad Evagrium [Evangel. Hieron. Op. ii. 570. Ed. 1699.]
[9] Gen. ix. 26.

of Ham and Japhet, but even among the children of Shem and the sons of Heber also, of whom Abraham was; God called him out "from his father's house," and gave him the promise that He would "make his seed as the stars of heaven in number," and that "in his seed all the nations of the world should be blessed," and "gave him the seal of circumcision," so that all posterities have ever honoured him with the name and title of the father of the faithful[1]. This man obtained a son by promise in his old age, when Sara his wife "was likewise old, and it ceased to be with her after the manner of women, and named his name Isaac[2]," of whom came Esau and Jacob; concerning whom God pronounced, ere they were yet born, or had done good or evil, "the elder shall serve the younger," "I have loved Jacob, and hated Esau[3]." Jacob, therefore, prevailed with God[4], and was named Israel, the father of the twelve patriarchs, of whom came the twelve tribes of Israel, and that chosen nation of holy Hebrews, who were also named Jews, of Judah the patriarch, to whom the sceptre and kingly dignity pertained, to whom his father's sons bowed according to the tenor of Jacob's blessing, concerning whom the Lord did promise, "that the sceptre should not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, till the Shilo were come[5]." Great was the honour of this people above all the nations of the world, for "unto them were committed the oracles of God," to them pertained "the adoption and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law and the service of God, and the promises;" of whom were "the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for ever[6]," the propitiation for sins, the merit of reconciliation, the glory of Israel, and the light of the Gentiles, to whom God gave a name above all names, that at the naming thereof all knees do bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, in whom all things appear full of mercy, and full of marvel[7]. God, before all eternity, yet made man in time; begotten before all times, yet born in time born of a woman, yet a vir-

[1] Gen. xii. 3, xv. 5, xvii. 9.
[2] Gen. xv. 4, xvii., xxi. 2, 3.
[3] Gen. xxv. 23; Malac. i. 2, 3.
[4] Gen. xxxii. 28.
[5] Gen. xlix. 8, 10.
[6] Rom. iii. 2, ix. 4, 5.
[7] Luke ii. 32; Philip. ii. 9, 10.

gin; inclosed in the womb of Mary His mother, yet even then known of John His forerunner yet in the womb of Elizabeth his mother likewise, who sprang for joy at the presence of the eternal Word[1]. He was born in Bethlehem, the meanest of the cities of Judah; wrapped in swaddling bands, and laid in a manger, yet glorified by the angels, pointed to by a star, and adored by the sages that came from far. He was no sooner born into the world, but Herod sought His life, so that He was forced to fly into Egypt, whilst He did yet hang on His mother's breasts; but He overthrew and brake in pieces all the idols of Egypt. The Jews saw no beauty in His face, nor glory in His countenance, yet David in spirit long before pronounced, that He was fairer than the sons of men; and being transfigured in the mount, His face did shine like the sun, and gave a taste of that glory wherein He will return to judge the quick and dead. He was baptized as a man, but forgave sins as God, not washed by those waters, but purifying them rather, and filling them with sanctifying force and power; He was tempted as a man, but overcoming as God, maketh us confident because He hath overcome the world; He was hungry, but fed many thousands, and was the true bread that came down from heaven; He thirsted, but cried aloud, "If any thirst, let him come unto Me," and promiseth, to "every one that believeth in Him," that "rivers of water shall flow out of His belly." He was weary, but promised rest to all them that are weary and come unto Him; He slept, but waking, stilled the tempest, and commanded the wind and the sea; He payed tribute, but out of the mouth of a fish taken in the sea; He prayed, but hearing our prayers; He wept, but wipeth all tears from our eyes; He was sold for thirty pence, but redeemed the world with a great and inestimable price; He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, but He is the great shepherd that feedeth the Israel of God; He was beaten and wounded, but cured all our weakness, and healed all our sickness; He died, was buried, and descended into hell, but He rose again, and ascended into heaven, where He sitteth at the right hand of the Highest Majesty, "till all His enemies be made His foot-stool." This was He whom all the fathers looked for, all the prophets prophesied of, whom all the cere-

[1] Gregor. Nazian. Orat. [XXXV. Tom. I. 575. Ed. Morell. 1630.]

monies, sacrifices, and Jewish observations led unto, in whom that which was foretold was fulfilled, that which was imperfect supplied, and all things changed into a better estate, so that by His coming all things are become new, a new priesthood, a new law, a new covenant, new sacraments, and a new people, that worship not at Jerusalem, or in the temple alone, but without respect of place "worship God in spirit and in truth[1]."

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE society of this new and blessed people began in the apostles, whom Christ the anointed Saviour of the world did choose to be His followers, and to be witnesses of all the things He did and suffered among sinful men. To these our Saviour Christ, after His resurrection, gave most ample commission, to teach the nations and people of the world, and to preach repentance and remission of sins in His name, opening their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures, that so it behoved Him to suffer, and to rise again the third day, whereof they were witnesses[2]. Yet commanded He them to tarry in Jerusalem, till they were indued with power from above, which was performed unto them in the feast of Pentecost, when all they that looked for the redemption of Israel by this anointed Saviour, and had been his followers, after His departure from them and returning from the heavens, were assembled into one place, and suddenly heard as it were the noise of a mighty and rushing wind, and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like fire, and sat upon every [one] of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the spirit gave them utterance; so that though there were dwelling at Jerusalem, men that feared God of every nation under heaven, yet they all heard them speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God[3]. Here was the beginning of that blessed

[1] John iv. 23.

[2] Luke xxiv. 45—48; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

[3] Acts i. 4, ii. 1.

company, which for distinction's sake we call the Christian Church, as consisting of them that believe in Christ now already come in the flesh.

And though the Church of the Old and New Testament be in essence the same, yet for that the state of the Church of the New Testament is in many respects far more glorious and excellent, the fathers and ecclesiastical writers for the most part appropriate the name of the Church to the multitude of believers since the coming of Christ, and call the faithful people that were before by the name of the synagogue. If this difference of names be retained only for distinction sake (that men may know when we speak of that moiety of the people of God that was before, and when of that other that is and hath been since the coming of Christ), we dislike it not.

The Greek words which we turn Church and synagogue, the one originally and properly signifieth a multitude called out, or called together, which is proper to men; the other a multitude congregated and gathered together, which is common to men with brute beasts. If any man, having an eye to the different original significations of these words, do thereupon infer, that the people of God, before the coming of Christ, did seek nothing but earthly, outward, and transitory things, and so were gathered together like brute beasts, and like oxen fatted to the day of slaughter, we detest and accurse so wicked and damnable a construction. And herein surely the Catechism of Trent cannot well be excused, which, abusing the authority of St Augustine upon the Psalm lxxvii.[1] and lxxxi.[2], affirmeth that "the name of synagogue is therefore

[1] "Quamvis enim proprie dicatur synagoga Judæorum, ecclesia vero Christianorum, quia congregatio magis pecorum, convocatio [vero] magis hominum intelligi solet; tamen et illam dictam invenimus ecclesiam, et nobis fortasse magis convenit dicere: Salva nos Domine noster, et congrega nos de nationibus, ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo. Neque dedignari nos oportet, immo gratias ineffabiles agere, quod sumus oves manuum ejus, quas prævidebat cum diceret, habeo alias oves." August. in Psal. xxvii. [§ 3.]

[2] "In synagoga populum Israel accipimus.—Quando utique quamvis uni vero Deo mancipatus videretur, pro magnis tamen ac summis bonis ab illo carnalia, terrena et temporalia requirebant." Aug. in Psal. lxxxi. [§ 1.] Sed in Psal. lxxii. [§ 6.] ostendit, utcunque multi animadvertentes quæ promiserit Deus populo illi, [nempe] abundan-

applied to the people that were under the law, because, like brute beasts, which most properly are said to be congregated or gathered together, they respected, intended, and sought nothing, but only outward, sensible, earthly, and transitory things[1]." Which unadvised speech, how much it advantageth the anabaptists, who think the faithful people before Christ did only taste of the sweetness of God's temporal blessings, without any hope of eternal happiness, any man of mean understanding may easily discern[2]. It is, therefore, not to be doubted, but that the faithful, before the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, were so instructed of the Lord, that they assured themselves there was a better life for them elsewhere; and that, neglecting this earthly, momentary, and wretched life, they principally sought the other, which is divine and heavenly[3]. Notwithstanding, some difference there was between their estate and ours, in that, though the Lord raised their minds from base and earthly things, to know, seek, and desire the heavenly inheritance and life of the world to come; yet that they might the better be strengthened, in the hope and expectation thereof, He made them take a view of it, and taste the sweetness of it in those temporal and earthly blessings and benefits, which most abundantly He bestowed upon them; whereas, now, the grace of the life that is to come being more clearly revealed by the Gospel (omitting all that

tiam rerum terrenarum, patriam, pacem, felicitatem terrenam, et non considerantes in his omnibus figuram esse, nec intelligentes quid ibi lateret, putarent non habere Deum melius quod daret diligentibus se: fuisse tamen prophetas et alios quosdam intellectores regni cœlestis et æterni, qui non pro temporalibus sed spiritualibus bonis Domino servirent.

[1] Catech. Trident. in Explicatione Symboli. ["Præterea ex hac vocatione quis nobis finis propositus esse debeat, nimirum æternarum rerum cognitio et possessio, is optime perspiciet qui animadverterit, cur olim fidelis populis sub lege positus, synagoga, id est, congregatio diceretur. Nam, ut docet S. Augustinus, hoc ei nomen impositum est, quia pecudum more, quibus magis congregari convenit, terrena et caduca tantum bona spectaret." p. 77. Ed. Lips. 1840.]

[2] Calvin. Institut. lib. ii. cap. 10. § 1. ["Prodigiosus nebulo Servetus et furiosi nonnulli ex anabaptistorum secta, qui non aliter de Israelitico populo sentiunt, quam de aliquo porcorum grege utpote quem nugantur a Domino in hac terra saginatum, citra spem ullam cœlestis immortalitatis."]

[3] Heb. xi. 13—16.

inferior kind of manuduction or leading by the hand, through the consideration, sight, and enjoying of these meaner things), He doth more directly, and immediately, fasten our thoughts on things divine.

For the expressing of this difference, and the more easy distinction of the two moieties of the people of God, the one before, the other after the work of redemption was performed by Christ, though both be rightly and most aptly named the Church of God; yet it hath been, and is religiously observed, that by a kind of appropriation, the one is named the *Synagogue*, the other the *Church*. Neither doth any of our divines, for aught I know, call this society of Christians a *synagogue;* though (following the rule of Aquinas[1], that in words we must not so much respect their original, exact, and precise signification, or derivation, as whereunto they are by use of speech applied), we use the word congregation, which is the Latin of *συναγωγὴ*, and fear not to say that the people of God, in the state of the New Testament, are the congregation of Christ, and are congregated in His faith and name: even as, though *ἐκκλησία, ecclesia, convocatio, cœtus evocatus*, a multitude called out, or called together, both Greek, Latin, and English words, do originally signify one and the same thing; yet, there are many meetings, societies, and assemblies of men, which may rightly be called convocations, multitudes called together, or multitudes of men called out from others; which, if we should endeavour to express by the Greek word *ἐκκλησία*, or by the English word *Church*, it would seem absurd, and no man would understand us. It followeth not, therefore, that we call the company

[1] "Aliud est etymologia nominis, et aliud est significatio nominis. Etymologia attenditur secundum id a quo imponitur nomen ad significandum, nominis vero significatio attenditur secundum id ad quod significandum nomen imponitur." [Summa Theologiæ,] ii. 2. q. 92, art. 1.

['"Ex comparatione synagogæ vim habet hoc argumentum; non quod ullum sit in vi vocum discrimen, propter quod synagogam veteris populi, novi autem ecclesiam dicere debeamus; sed quod diversa esse corpora debeant, quorum unum circumcisis solis, alterum baptizatis constat. Itaque recte omnino ac sapienter veteres veteris ecclesiæ scriptores nominibus distinguunt ab ecclesiæ synagogam; quorum neglecta distinctio tenebras scripturis intelligendis affundit." Thorndike, De jure finiendi controv. 116.' Brewer's Ed.]

and society of Christians a *synagogue*, though we name it the congregation of Christ, warranted thereunto by the authority, example, and practice of the apostles of Christ, and other holy and catholic men that have been before us. "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love, and good works," saith the apostle in the epistle to the Hebrews[1], "not forsaking our assembling or congregating, and gathering together, or the fellowship we have among ourselves, as the manner of some is;" where the Greek word is ἐπισυναγωγή. And the same apostle to the Corinthians, "when you are congregated, and my spirit in the midst of you, I will deliver this man that hath done this thing unto Satan[2]." And who knoweth not that all writers, since the apostles' time, have freely used the word congregation, applying it to signify the multitudes and assemblies of Christians[3]. In the Council of Constance, nothing is more often repeated, than *Synodus in spiritu sancto congregata, &c.*[4] Yet I hope that Gregory Martin, and other such verbal companions, will not say that the fathers assembled in that council, which ended the schism of three popes, and settled the succession of the bishops of Rome again, were congregated and gathered like brute beasts. It is not, therefore, with so great scorn, and imputation of dangerous and heretical meaning to be rejected, and that our translators of the Scriptures did, and do sometimes translate the word *ecclesia* used to express the Christian people of the New Testament, by the name of the congregation.

The reason why our translators, in the beginning, did choose rather to use the word congregation than Church, was not, as the adversary maliciously imagineth, for that they feared the very name of the Church; but because, as by the name of religion and religious men, ordinarily in former times, men understood nothing but *factitias religiones*, as Gerson[5]

[1] Heb. x. 25. [2] 1 Cor. v. 4.

[3] Ignatius Epist. ad Trallianos [§ 3], saith, "that without the bishop and presbyters there can be no congregation of holy ones," where the word is συναγωγή. ["The passage does not occur except in the interpolated epistle. See Cotelerius ii. 64. But it is used in his epistle to Polycarp, § 4, πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν." Brewer's Ed.]

[4] [Harduini Concil. viii. 230.]

[5] "Religio Christiana quamvis extendat se ad omnem Christianum,

out of Anselm calleth them, that is, the professions of monks and friars; so all the ordinary sort, when they heard the name of the Church, understood nothing else thereby, but either the material place where men met to serve and worship God, or the clergy, jurisdictions, and temporalities belonging to them; as the same Gerson showeth, affirming that the state of the Church in his time was mere brutish, so that men judged him a good bishop and governor of the Church, that looked well to the edifices, mansions, lands, rents, and revenues pertaining to the clergy, not much respecting what care he took of the spiritual welfare of them that were committed to his charge[1]. When this error in the conceit and apprehension of men was removed, the former name of Church was more ordinarily used again. Wherefore leaving this contention about words, wherein our adversaries most delight, let us come to the thing itself[2].

attamen appropriato quodam usu loquentium restringitur ad religiones quas Anselmus appellat *factitias*." Gerson de Religionis perfectione et moderamine; Consid. iii. [Opera, Tom. II. p. 683. Ed. Du Pin], *et ibid. addit;* "Unde sicut ecclesiæ significat principaliter universalem congregationem fidelium et inde dicitur Catholica, id est universalis, nomen tamen istud vulgaris usus restrinxit ad clerum: sic in proposito de religione etiam est propter majorem circa Christi consilia religationem."

[1] Sermo in die circumcisionis Dom. Consid. i. [Opera, Tom. II. 62. "Status insuper ecclesiæ nonne factus est totus quasi brutalis et monstruosus?"]

De origine juris et legum Consid. xiii. [Opera, Tom. II. p. 254. "Ita tamen animales etiam de ecclesia plerumque concipiunt, prout operibus et verbis insinuant, extollentes usque in cœlum, si quis episcopus aut abbas laboraverit ut stent mœnia et prædia cum suis jurisdictionibus, et permittat ruere subditos, per errorum devia, in fide catholica, et bonis moribus."]

[2] ["This chapter answers the exceptions made by Gregory Martin, and other Romanists, against our translation of the Bible. See Wood's Athenæ, p. 212." Brewer's Ed.]

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE DEFINITION OF THE CHURCH.

CONCERNING the Church, five things are to be observed. First, what is the definition of it, and who pertain unto it. Secondly, the notes whereby it may be known. Thirdly, which is the true Church demonstrated by these notes. Fourthly, the privileges that do pertain unto it. Fifthly, the divers degrees, orders, and callings of those men, to whom the government of this Church is committed.

Touching the first, the Church is the multitude and number of those whom Almighty God severeth from the rest of the world by the work of his grace, and calleth to the participation of eternal happiness, by the knowledge of such supernatural verities as concerning their everlasting good He hath revealed in Christ His Son, and such other precious and happy means as He hath appointed to further and set forward the work of their salvation. So that it is the work of grace, and the heavenly call, that give being to the Church, and make it a different society from all other companies of men in the world, that have no other light of knowledge, nor motion of desire, but that which is natural; whence, for distinction from them, it is named *ecclesia*, a multitude called out.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE DIVERS SORTS OF THEM THAT PERTAIN TO THE CHURCH.

THEY that are partakers of the heavenly calling, and sanctified by the profession of divine truth, and the use of the means of salvation, are of very divers sorts. For there are some that profess the truth delivered by Christ the Son of God, but not *wholly* and *entirely*, as heretics; some that profess the whole saving truth, but not in *unity*, as schismatics; some that profess the whole saving truth in

unity, but not in *sincerity*, and singleness of a good and sanctified mind, as hypocrites and wicked men, not outwardly divided from the people of God; and some that profess the whole saving truth in unity, and sincerity of a good and sanctified heart.

All these are partakers of the heavenly calling, and sanctified by the profession of the truth, and consequently are all in some degree and sort of that society of men, whom God calleth out unto Himself, and separateth from infidels, which is righty named the Church. These being the different ranks of men, made partakers of the heavenly calling, and sanctified by the profession of saving truth, there are divers names by which they are expressed, and distinguished one from another.

For as the name of the Church doth distinguish men that have received the revelation of supernatural truth, from infidels; and the name of the Christian Church, Christians from Jews; so the name of the orthodox Church is applied to distinguish right believing Christians from heretics; the name of the Catholic Church, men holding the faith in unity, from schismatics; the name of the invisible Church, "the Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven[1]," the mystical body of Christ, and the like, to distinguish the elect from all the rest. So that many were of the Church which were not of the Christian Church, as the Jews before the coming of Christ; many of the Christian Church that are not of the orthodox; many of the orthodox, that are not of the Catholic; and many of the Catholic, that are not of the invisible and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven.

Thus then, the Church having her being and name, from the calling of grace, all they must needs be of the Church, whom the grace of God in any sort calleth out from the profane and wicked of the world, to the participation of eternal happiness, by the excellent knowledge of divine, supernatural, and revealed verity, and use of the good, happy, and precious means of salvation: but they only perfectly and fully in respect of outward being, which profess the whole truth in unity; and they only principally, fully, and absolutely are of the Church, whom divine grace leadeth

[1] Heb. xii. 23.

infallibly, and indeclinably by these means to the certain and undoubted possession of wished blessedness; because in them only grace manifesteth her greatest and most prevailing force, without which efficacy of grace, winning infallibly, holding inseparably, and leading indeclinably, no man ever attained to salvation; and of which whoso is partaker shall undoubtedly be saved.

In the benefits of this grace, none but the elect and chosen of God, whom he hath loved with an everlasting love, have any part or fellowship, though others concur with them in the use of the same means of salvation, and be partakers with them of sundry inward motions inclining them to good. When we say, therefore, none but the elect of God are of the Church; we mean not that others are not at all, nor in any sort of the Church, but that they are not[1] "principally, fully, and absolutely;" and that they are not of that especial number of them who partake and communicate in the most perfect work, force, and effect of saving grace.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THEIR MEANING WHO SAY THAT THE ELECT ONLY ARE OF THE CHURCH.

THIS was the meaning of Wickliff, Huss and others, who therefore define the Church to be the multitude of the elect, not for that they think them only to pertain to the Church and no others, but because they only pertain unto it principally, fully, effectually and finally, and in them only is found that which the calling of grace (whence the Church hath all her being) intendeth; to wit, such a conversion to God as is joined with final perseverance, whereof others failing and coming short, they are only in an inferior and more imperfect sort, said to be of the Church.

[1] "Ecclesia præcipue et ex intentione fideles tantum colligit, [qui veram fidem in corde habent.] Cum autem admiscentur aliqui ficti et qui vere non credunt, id accidit præter intentionem ecclesiæ. Si enim eos nosse posset, nunquam admitteret, aut casu admissos continuo excluderet." Bellarmin. de Eccl. lib. iii. cap. 10.

The elect and chosen of God are of two sorts; some elect only and not yet called; some both elect and called. Of the latter there is no question but they are the most principal parts of the Church of God. Touching the former, they are not actually of the Church, but only *secundum præscientiam et prædestinationem*, in God's prescience and predestination, who hath purposed what they shall be, and knoweth what they will be.

It is frivolous, therefore, that Bellarmine[1], Stapleton[2] and others of that faction allege against us, that the elect before they are called are not of the Church. For it is true if they speak of actual admission into the fellowship of God's people, but false if they speak of the intent and purpose of Almighty God, whereby they were chosen to be made His in this present world, before the world itself was made. "Secundum Ejus præscientiam," saith Augustin, "multi etiam qui aperte foris sunt et hæretici appellantur multis et bonis catholicis meliores sunt[3]." "In the prescience of God, many that are apparently without, and named heretics, are better than many, and those good and right believing Catholic Christians." And in his tract upon John: "Secundum istam ergo præscientiam Dei et prædestinationem, quam multæ oves foris, quam multi lupi intus?—Quid est [inquit],

[1] De Eccles. Milit. lib. iii. c. 2. ["Quinque sunt hereticæ sententiæ. Prima quod Ecclesia sit prædestinatorum congregatio: ita ut soli et omnes et soli prædestinati sint de Ecclesia. Ita Joannes Wiclefus apud Waldensem (tom. i. lib. ii. c. 8, § 9); Joan. Huss, art. 1—6, ut habetur in Concilio Constant. ses. 15; e quibus sic habetur, art. 5. 'Præscitus etsi aliquando sit in gratia secundum præsentem justitiam, tamen nunquam est pars S. Ecclesiæ, et prædestinatus semper manet membrum Ecclesiæ, licet aliquando excidat a gratia adventitia, sed non a gratia predestinationis.'"]

[2] Cont. i. q. 2. art. 2. ["Wiclephi et post eum Joannis Hus hæresis erat electos semper esse membra Ecclesiæ etiam ante vocationem temporalem. Hanc confutat Waldensis (Doctr. Fidei. ii. c. 9. et 28). Lutherani hodie in repetitione Confessionis Augustanæ, Melancthon et Musculus in locis communibus, disertis verbis ab hac sententia recedunt, eamque Melancthon multis verbis refutat. Calvinistæ vero Wiclephi vomitum resumunt. Nam Helveticæ Ecclesiæ in sua Confessione, (cap. 17) diserte docent, etiam non renatos per baptismum esse aliquando membra Ecclesiæ, quatenus electi sunt. Calvinus (Instit. iv. c. 1. § 7) in eadem sententia est." [Relectio Scholastica.]

[3] De Baptismo, contra Donatistas, iv. [§ 3.]

quod dixi, quam multæ oves foris? Quam multi modo luxuriantur, casti futuri; quam multi blasphemant Christum, credituri in Christum;—veruntamen modo vocem alienam audiunt, alienos sequuntur. Item quam multi intus laudant blasphematuri; casti sunt fornicaturi;—stant, casuri; non sunt oves. De prædestinatis enim loquimur[1]." "According to God's prescience and predestination, how many sheep are there without and wolves within? What is it?" saith Augustine, "that I said? How many sheep are there without? how many are there that now wallow in all impurity and filthiness, that hereafter shall be chaste and undefiled? how many now do blaspheme Christ, which hereafter shall believe in Christ? and these are sheep, yet for the present they hear the voice of a stranger, and follow strangers. On the other side, how many are there now within, which presently praise God, that hereafter shall blaspheme him? which now are chaste, that hereafter will become impure adulterers? now stand, that hereafter will fall? and these are not sheep, for we speak of the predestinate." It is true, therefore, that Wickliff, Huss, Calvin and others do teach, that none but the elect do pertain to the Church in such sort as hath been before expressed, and that all the elect are of the Church, either actually, as they that are already called, or potentially and according to the purpose of God's will, as they that are elect and not yet called[2].

[1] Tract. xlv. [de Cap. 10.]

[2] Electorum quidam adhuc in hæresibus aut Gentilium superstitionibus sunt: et tamen etiam illic novit Dominus qui sunt ejus. Aug. de Baptismo, contra Donatist. [v. § 38. The original passage thus reads: "*Hortus conclusus, soror mea sponsa, fons signatus, puteus aquæ vivæ,*" &c. (Cant. iv. 12.) "numerus ergo ille justorum, qui secundum propositum vocati sunt, de quibus dictum est, *novit Dominus qui sunt ejus*, ipse est hortus conclusus;—Ex hoc numero quidam spiritualiter vivunt;—Sunt enim quidam ex eo numero qui adhuc nequiter vivant, aut etiam in hæresibus, vel in gentilium superstitionibus jaceant, et tamen etiam illic novit Dominus qui sunt ejus. Namque in illa ineffabili præscientia Dei, multi qui foris videntur, intus sunt; et multi qui intus videntur foris sunt."]

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE DIFFERENCE OF THEM THAT ARE IN, AND OF THE CHURCH.

BY that which hath been said, that none but the elect are of the Church in that principal and high degree before mentioned, we may easily understand their true meaning, and the truth of their meaning, who say that hypocrites, wicked men and castaways are in, but not of the Church. "Puto," saith Augustine, "me non temere dicere alios sic esse in domo Dei, ut ipsi etiam sint domus Dei;—alios autem ita dici esse in domo ut non pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad societatem fructiferæ pacificæque justitiæ." "I think I may very advisedly and considerately say, some are in such sort in the house of God, that they also are the house of God; and that some are so in the house of God, that they pertain not to the frame and fabric of it, nor to the society and fellowship of fruitful and peaceable righteousness[1]."

[2]Of them that are in the Church there are thee sorts. For there are some only *numero*, some *numero et merito*, some *numero, merito et electione:* that is, there are some that only in external profession; some that in profession and affection; and some that in profession and affection with never altering resolution, join themselves to the company of the

[1] De Baptismo [Contra Donat.] vii. 51. "Regnant cum illo qui eo modo sunt in regno ejus, ut sint etiam ipsi regnum ejus." De Civitate Dei, xx. 9.

[2] Stapleton, Relect. Scholastica; Contr. I. De Ecclesia in se, q. 2, art. 1, in explicat. articuli. Notabili tertio. ["Tertio notabimus quosdam esse in Ecclesia numero et vocatione tantum, qualis erat Judas inter duodecim Apostolos, cui Christus dixit; Joan. 6: *Unus ex vobis diabolus est.* Vocatione erat unus ex Apostolis, sed opere Diabolus; unus erat specie non virtute. De cujusmodi apostolus dicit; *formam pietatis habentes, virtutem ejus abnegantes.* (2 Tim. iii.) Propter sacramenta formam pietatis habent, et filii Dei dicuntur; (ait Augustinus; Enarratio in Ps. xlvii. propter amissionem virtutis alieni sunt non filii. Alii sunt in Ecclesia et numero et merito, propter virtutem ipsam pietatis quam retinent. Alii denique et numero, et merito et etiam electione propter perseverantiam in bono; de quibus Apostolus ad Rom. viii. *Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei?*"]

believers, and have their hearts knit unto God for ever; as the elect of God called according to his purpose. These are *intrinsecus et in occulto intus*, as Augustine speaketh[1]; and whosoever are thus in the Church, are most fully of the Church, and are of the special number of them that communicate in the most precious effects, and most happy benefits of effectual and saving grace. In the two former sorts many are in the Church, which though they be also of the Church, in that they have fellowship in some outward things with the elect and chosen servants of God, yet principally, fully and absolutely are not of it, nor of that special number of those that have part in the benefits of effectual and saving grace[2].

CHAPTER X.

OF THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE CHURCH.

HENCE it cometh that we say there is a visible and invisible Church, not meaning to make two distinct Churches, as our adversaries falsely and maliciously charge us, though the form of words may serve to insinuate some such thing, but to distinguish the divers considerations of the same Church; which though it be visible in respect of the profession of supernatural verities revealed in Christ, use of holy sacraments, order of ministry, and due obedience yielded thereunto, and they discernible that do communicate therein; yet in respect of those most precious effects, and happy benefits of saving grace, wherein only the elect do communicate, it is invisible; and they that in so happy, gracious and desirable

[1] De Baptismo, contra Donatistas, v. 27. "An istæ sunt spinæ, in quarum medio est illa [i. e. sponsa Christi] sicut lilium?—in quantum ergo lilium, in tantum et hortus conclusus et fons signatus; in illis videlicet justis;—in quibus est numerus certus sanctorum predestinatus ante mundi constitutionem. Illa vero multitudo spinarum sive occultis sive apertis separationibus, forinsecus adjacet super numerum."

[2] "Horum munera concessa divinitus, partim sunt propria, [electorum] sicut in hoc tempore infatigabilis charitas, et in futuro seculo vita æterna; partim vero cum malis perversisque communia, sicut omnia cætera, in quibus sunt et sancrosancta mysteria." Aug. ibid.

things have communion among themselves, are not discernible from others to whom this fellowship is denied, but are known only unto God. That Nathaniel was an Israelite[1] all men knew; that he was "a true Israelite, in whom was no guile," Christ only knew[2].

The persons, then, of them of whom the Church consisteth are visible; their profession known even to the profane and wicked of the world, and in this sort the Church cannot be invisible, neither did any of our men teach that it is or may be. For seeing the Church is the multitude of them that shall be saved, and no man can be saved unless he make confession unto salvation, (for faith hid in the heart and concealed, doth not suffice,) it cannot be but they that are of the true Church, must by the profession of the truth make themselves known in such sort, that by their profession and practice they may be discerned from other men.

Notwithstanding, because the truth and excellence of the faith and profession of Christians, is not discerned by the light of nature, but by faith alone; the excellency of this society of Christians above other profane companies in the world, and their happiness that are of it, is invisible, hidden and unknown to natural men, and is known only to them that are spiritual. And who they are that have fellowship among themselves, not only in the profession of heavenly verities and outward means of salvation, but also in the benefits of effectual and saving grace, is known neither to the natural nor spiritual man, but to God alone.

If a man shall further urge that Luther, and some other that were in the beginning of the reformation of the Church, did think the Church to be sometimes invisible, not only in those respects above specified, but even in the truth of profession, and practice of those things that to salvation are necessary, we deny that any such thing can be collected out of any of their writings which they have left unto posterity. For how should there be a Church in the world, the perpetuity whereof they almost constantly defend, and none found to profess the saving truth of God, which all are bound to do that look for salvation? But this surely both they and we do teach, that though always the open, known and con-

[1] John i. 47.

[2] [See Hooker's Eccles. Polity, Book iii. ch. 1.]

stant profession of saving truth, be preserved and found amongst men, and the ministry of salvation continued and known in the world; (for how should there be a Church gathered without a ministry?) that yet sometimes errors and heresies so much prevail, that the most part, not only of them that apparently are without, but even of them also that hold and possess great places of office and dignity in the Church of God, either for fear, flattery, hope of gain, or honour, or else misled through simplicity, or directly falling into error or heresy, depart from the soundness of Christian faith, so that the sincerity of religion is upholden, and the truth of the profession of Christians defended and maintained but only by some few, and they molested, persecuted and traduced, as turbulent and seditious men, enemies to the common peace of the Christian world. In this sense then the Church is said to be sometimes invisible, not because there are none seen, known or found that possess the truth of God; but because even in that company which is the true Church of God, many, and those the greatest, are carried into error, so that but some few, and they such, as (if we should judge by outward appearance,) are most unlike to uphold and maintain the truth, are left to defend the same; multitude, authority, reputation and opinion of greatness in others, obscuring them in such sort, that they which measure things by outward appearance, can possibly take no notice of them. This was the state of the Christian world in the time of Athanasius, when in the[1] Council of Seleucia and Ariminum the Nicene faith was condemned; and all the bishops of the whole world (carried away with the sway of time) fell from the soundness of the faith, only Athanasius excepted, and some few confessors that *sub Athanasii nomine exulabant*, as Hierome noteth, writing against the Luciferians; "Ingemuit totus orbis, et miratus est se factum esse Arianum," "the world poured forth sighs, marvelling how it was become an Arian." At that time it was, when Hilarius[2] writing against Auxentius, bishop of Milan, complained that

[1] "Tunc Ousiæ nomen abolitum est; tunc Nicenæ fidei damnatio conclamata est. Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est. Igitur alii intra suam communionem remanere, alii ad eos confessores, qui sub nomine Athanasii exulabant, cœperunt literas mittere." Hieron. contra Luciferianos. [Opera, vol. iv. p. 300. Paris, 1706.]

[2] Hilarius contra Auxentium, [p. 1269. Paris, 1693.]

the Arian faction had confounded all, and therefore admonished all men to take heed how they suffered themselves to be led with outward appearances: "Male [enim] vos parietum amor cepit; male Ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini; male sub his pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est in his Antichristum esse sessurum? Montes mihi, et sylvæ, et lacus, et carceres, et voragines sunt tutiores, in his enim prophetæ [aut] manentes, aut demersi, Dei spiritu prophetabant." "It is not well," saith he, "that you are in love with walls, that you esteem the Church in respect of houses and buildings, and in and under those shows and outward appearances pretend and urge the name of peace. Is there any doubt of Antichrist's sitting in these places? The mountains, the woods, the lakes, the prisons, the deep pits and devouring gulphs seem to me more safe. For in these the prophets either remaining, abiding and making them their dwelling-places, or, as it were drowned and overwhelmed in them, prophesied in old time." And to this purpose it is that Augustine[1] writeth, most aptly distinguishing between the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea, according to the number whereof God promised Abraham that his seed should be. "The Church of God," saith he, "sometimes is obscured, darkened, and, as it were, overshadowed with the multitude of offences and scandals that are found in it, yet even then doth it appear and show itself in those worthies of most strong and constant resolution, which are as the stars of heaven among those of Abraham's seed and posterity; but for the multitude of weak and carnal Christians, which is like to the sand on the sea-shore, in peaceable times they are free and quiet, but in dangerous times troubled, covered, and hidden with the waters, and raging waves of tribulation and temptation."

This and no other thing our divines meant, that affirmed

[1] Aug. ep. 48 [93, § 30. "Ipsa est quæ aliquando obscuratur et tamquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum, quando peccatores intendunt arcum, ut sagittent in obscura luna rectos corde. Sed etiam tunc in suis firmissimis eminet. Et si aliqua in his verbis divinis distributio facienda est, fortasse non frustra dictum sit de semine Abrahæ, *sicut stellæ cœli et sicut arena quæ est ad oram maris:* ut in stellis cœli pauciores, firmiores, clarioresque intelligantur, in arena autem maritimi littoris magna multitudo infirmorum atque carnalium; quæ aliquando tranquillitate temporis quieta et libera apparet, aliquando autem tribulationum et tentationum fluctibus operitur atque turbatur."]

the Church to be sometimes invisible; and, therefore, it is most true that Bellarmine[1] noteth, that many of his companions have taken much needless pain in proving against us the perpetuity of the Church, which, as he confesseth, none of us ever denied; but it is as true that he also laboureth in vain, in proving that there is, and always hath been, a visible Church, and that not consisting of some few scattered Christians without order or ministry, or use of sacraments; for all this we do most willingly yield unto, howsoever perhaps some few have been of opinion, that though all others failing from the faith, the truth of God should remain only in some few of the laity, yet the promise of Christ concerning the perpetuity of his Church might still be verified.

This question was disputed by Ocham[2] and Cameracensis[3], long before our times, and who knoweth not that Cardinal Turrecremata[4], and other great divines have been of opinion, that during the time that Christ was touching his body in the grave, all the apostles being fallen from the faith, the same continued in the blessed Virgin alone; but these disputes we leave to them that are delighted in them, resting in the assured and undoubted persuasion of the truth of these things which we have delivered touching the visibility and

[1] Controv. De Eccl. Militante, iii. cap. 13. ["Jam quod ecclesia ista vera et visibilis non possit deficere facile probari possit. Notandum autem est multos ex nostris tempus terere dum probant absolute ecclesiam non posse deficere; nam Calvinus et cæteri hæretici id concedunt; sed dicunt intelligi debere de ecclesia invisibili."]

[2] Dialogi, lib. v. prima pars, cap. 32. ["In quo probatur tribus rationibus quod tota multitudo virorum tam clericorum quam laicorum potest contra fidem errare et fides Catholica in mulieribus conservari."]

[3] [Petri de Alliaco,] Quæstio in suis Vesperiis. [Inter Gersonii Opera, i. 662. ed. Du Pin.]

[4] Canus [De Locis Theologicis] lib. iv. cap. 5, ostendit Turrecrematam et alios putasse in sola virgine fidem permansisse, idque significare dixisse candelam quæ in officiis eorum dierum sola non extinguitur, unde discipuli lumen quod amiserant receperunt. Item Turrecremata, lib. iii. Summæ [De Ecclesia, c. 61.] ait Apostolos omnes fuisse infideles tempore mortis Christi. Vid. Canum ibidem.

"Christi tempore, deficientibus in fide apostolis, integra et omnino perfectissima fides in sola Virgine Domini Matre remansit; et Arianæ hæreseos fervente persecutione Athanasius fere solus pro Catholica fide agens inventus est."—Francisc. Picus Mirand. [De fide et ordine credendi.] Theorem. 13.

invisibility of the Church; by which it may easily appear, in what sense the Church may be said to be sometimes invisible, and how the same Church is at the same time both visible and invisible in divers respects.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DIVERS TITLES OF THE CHURCH, AND HOW THEY ARE VERIFIED OF IT.

HAVING thus declared the divers considerations of the Church of God, and the different conditions of them that are of it; for our better direction, lest we mistake and misapply those things that are spoken of it, we must further observe, that the names and titles given unto it are of two sorts: for there are some that are verified of it in respect of the whole considered generally; and as it comprehendeth all those that concur in the same entire profession of heavenly verities, and outward means of salvation, though they be of very divers, different, and contrary condition. So it is named, "a great house, wherein there are vessels of honour and dishonour[1]; in which there are that walk according to the rule of Christianity[2], and worthy of God[3]; and others that walk[4] inordinately." It is named "a field, in which is wheat mingled with tares[5]; it is a floor, in which there are wheat and chaff[6]: it is a company of virgins attending the coming of the bridegroom, whereof some are wise, having oil in their lamps, others foolish, having none[7]; it is a net cast into the sea, that gathereth into it good fishes and bad[8]." Other names and titles there are, which are not verified of the Church, considered generally in all her parts, but only in respect of some parts, and those the best and principal[9]; so

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 20.
[2] Phil. iii. 16, 17.
[3] 1 Thess. ii. 12.
[4] 2 Thess. iii. 11.
[5] Matt. xiii. 25.
[6] Matt. iii. 12.
[7] Matt. xxv. 2.
[8] Matt. xiii. 47.
[9] ["Modeste vero tamen loquendum est de hac tam Catholice, id est, universaliter peregrinante ecclesia; ut quamvis universi renati necdum ejecti sint ejus filii computandi, tamen] non omnibus æque

it is named "the spouse of Christ, and the wife of the Lamb[1]; a royal priesthood, an holy nation, and a peculiar people[2]; the love of Christ, all fair, undefiled, and without spot; the only dove, an orchard enclosed, a well sealed up, a fountain of living water, a paradise with all precious, delectable, and desirable fruit, and that nothing may be added to the honour of it[3]." It is the "mystical body of Christ, which he doth animate, formalize, and quicken with his own spirit: of this body the wicked are not members[4]," though they be members of the body of the Church generally considered. It is, therefore, a vain dispute between them that say, they are

conveniunt præconia filiorum; sed vocabula summæ laudis, et excellentiæ tituli, quamvis indistincte per Scripturas de tota legantur ecclesia, tamen de sola gloriosa parte ejus debent intelligi; ut quæ sit nova nupta, sponsa agni, quæ sit civitas sancta, Hierusalem nova descendens de cœlo, a Deo parata," &c. Waldensis Doctrinalis Fidei, lib. ii. art. II. c. 11.

[1] Revel. xix. 7. [2] 1 Pet. ii. 9. [3] Cantic. i. 2, &c.

[4] "Rursum errant, quia non distinguunt Ecclesiam Christi in sua latitudine a corpore Christi mystico proprie dicto. Imprimis enim, etsi non sit membrum corporis Christi, in quo perpetuus est influxus et participatio gratiæ, vivum, operativum, ideoque re ipsa et univoce dictum, sed nomine tantum et numero tenus, [ideoque equivoce] tamen ipsius Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ ut est *corpus Christi* in uno sensu propter internam gratiam, ita est *domus magna Christi, est area et ager Dominicus* in alio sensu, propter externam collectionem, professionem, et societatem per Sacramenta; hujus, inquam, Ecclesiæ in hoc posteriori sensu, qui verus et proprius sensus est,—vere et proprie membrum est." Stapleton, [Relectio] Controv. i. quæst. 2, art. 1, notab. 5.

"Ad unionem corporis mystici sive Ecclesiæ, nunquam proprie pertinent existentes in peccato mortali; tamen refert dicere unitatem Ecclesiæ et corporis Ecclesiæ. In unitate enim Ecclesiæ sunt boni et mali. Unitas vero corporis Ecclesiæ non est nisi per fidem formatam charitate." Alexan. de Hales, pars iii. quæst. 12, memb. 3, artic. iii.

"Hieron. Non audeo eos peccatores et gehennæ reos negare membra magni corporis Christi, et grandis Ecclesiæ speciosæ, et fuscæ, quos Apostolus dicit: cum eo omnes in uno spiritu baptizatos, ut unum corpus efficerentur in Christo et membra de membro, nec tamen scio introducere eos in Ecclesiam electorum quam dicit Apostolus gloriosam ut membra ejus, quamvis inter eos corporaliter habitent: sed ut mali humores, non ut membra in corpore minus sano. Et August. tom. ix. Quidam sic sunt in corpore Domini ut membra in non sano, quidam ut humores mali: corpus non plene curatur, nisi istos evomuerit, exierunt ex me humores isti, sed non erant ex me. Non sunt ergo membra in Christi corpore glorioso, qui forsan in Christi corpore magno illo regno

members of the mystical body of Christ, though not living members, and them that say, they are parts, but not members: for they are neither parts, nor members, of the mystical body of Christ, though they be both in respect of the body of the Church considered generally. And it is false that Bellarmine affirmeth[1], that we require inward qualities to make a man to be of the Church, thereby making it unknown who are that Church, to whose authority and direction the Lord commandeth us to submit ourselves. For we do not require inward qualities in a man, before he can be at all of the Church; but before he can be fully, and of the mystical body of Christ. We say, therefore, that all they are of the Church, that outwardly hold the faith of Christ; and that that society wherein the sincere outward profession of the truth of God is preserved, is that true Church of God, whose communion we must embrace; that happy mother, in whose womb we are conceived, with whose milk we are nourished, and to whose censures we must submit ourselves. And so it is untrue that the same Bellarmine imputeth unto us, charging us, that we affirm that none of the privileges which Christ hath bestowed on his Church, do pertain to the Church generally considered, but only to that more special number of the elect of God, who communicate in the benefits of effectual and saving grace; which who they are is known to none, but God only. For though we know they were all granted for their sakes, and do benefit them only, yet we say not that they pertain only unto them. For whereas there are four sorts of things pertaining and belonging to the Church, to wit: first, the promises of everlasting love and mercy; secondly, the knowledge of God and means of salvation; thirdly, the ministry and dispensation of the Word

cœlorum sunt membra." Waldensis, libr. ii. artic. 2, cap. xi. hæc verba Hieron. et Aug. citat.

"Augustinus de doctrina Christiana, iii. lib. cap. xxxii. negat esse *de corpore Christi qui cum illo non erunt in æternum:* fatetur tamen eos esse in Ecclesia, ideoque *Ecclesiam vocari posse permixtam*, non autem corpus Christi permixtum aut bipartitum." Stapleton, Relect. Cont. i. q. 2, art. i. notab. 5. [See also Hooker's Eccl. Polity, Book iii. ch. 1.]

[1] De Ecclesia Militante, lib. iii. cap. ii. ["Atque hoc interest inter sententiam nostram et alias omnes, quod omnes aliæ requirunt internas virtutes ad constituendum aliquem in Ecclesia, et propterea Ecclesiam invisibilem faciunt."]

and Sacraments; and, fourthly, the performance of such duties as God requireth. The first sort of things pertain only to the more special number of the elect of God; the second, to the whole multitude of Christians in general; the third, to such as are lawfully called thereunto; the fourth, if they be general duties, pertain to all; if special, to special degrees and sorts of men in the Church, according to their several differences.

Thus, then, we see the divers considerations of the Church, and the different condition of them that do pertain to it, and of whom it doth consist; notwithstanding all which differences, for that they all concur in the same holy profession, and use of the same happy means of salvation, they make one holy Catholic Church, in which only the light of heavenly truth is to be sought, where only grace, mercy, remission of sins, and hope of eternal happiness, are found. ("Sola Catholica Ecclesia est quæ verum [Dei] cultum retinet. Hic [autem] est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei, hoc templum Dei, quo si quis non intraverit, vel a quo si quis exierit, a spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est.") "It is only the Catholic Church that hath the true worship and service of God; this is the well-spring of truth, the dwelling-place of faith, the temple of God, into which whosoever entereth not, and from which whosoever departeth, is without all hope of life and eternal salvation[1]."

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE DIVERS SORTS OF THEM THAT HAVE NOT YET ENTERED THE CHURCH.

THEY that have not entered into this society are of two sorts, infidels and catechumens; that is, infidels and such as, though they be believers, are not yet baptized. The former are without, of whom the Apostle speaketh when he pronounceth, "that he hath nothing to do to judge them that are without." The latter, for that they make profession of the truth of God, and with longing desires thirst after the

[1] Lactantius, Divinarum Institut. iv. 30. "Sola," &c.

full enjoying of the blessed communion of the saints of God, wishing for nothing more than by baptism to be admitted into the family of Christ, and household of faith, are *in vestibulo pietatis*, as Nazianzen noteth[1], and are like children formed and fashioned in the womb and come to the birth, though not yet brought forth.

And therefore the constant resolution almost of all divines is, and hath been, that if without contempt and neglect, by any unavoidable impediment, they be hindered from enjoying the benefit of this sacramental assurance of their adoption, they do, notwithstanding the want thereof, live and die in the state of salvation[2]. These, therefore, *are within*, as the apostle speaketh, though not by that solemn, outward, and sacramental admission which they do desire, yet in desire, purpose, and preparation fitting them unto it, which is so far forth necessary to salvation, that no man ever was, or shall be saved, that either wilfully neglected or contemned the same.

And therefore it is not without great cause that Nazianzen, in the place above-mentioned[3], taxeth the folly of some in his time, who for that they knew the greatness of the benefit of grace which is received in baptism, (which by no other means in so full and ample sort is bestowed on the sons of men,) lest by the evils they might through human frailty easily run into, they should fall from it, which could not in the same degree and measure be recovered again, deferred and put off their baptism as long as they could, so that some were lifted up to bishops' chairs, before by baptism they had set one foot within the doors of the house

[1] Nazianzen. Orat. Panegyrica in sanctum Baptisma. [Orat. 40. ἕως εἶ κατηχούμενος ἐν προθύροις εἶ τῆς εὐσεβείας. Opera, Tom. I. p. 647.]

[2] [Quare quod] "Johan. de Turrecremata docet in summa de Ecclesia, (lib. i. cap. 8. ad viii. arg.) et post eum Bannes (in secundam secundæ q. 1, art. 10,) catechumenos non numero sed merito esse de Ecclesia: verum esse posse ut Ecclesia corpus Christi mysticum significat." Stapleton [Relect.] Controv. I. q. 2, art. 2.

[3] Nazianzenus: Orat. in sanctum Baptisma; [ibid.] et Nicetas in Commentariis [in Orat. 40, Nazianz.] negant eos; qui vel per ignorantiam vel per tyrannidem a baptismo exciderunt, cœlesti gloria aut suppliciis a justo Judice afficiendos esse, nec ad vim baptismi obtinendam ipsius cupiditate teneri satis esse censent. Ed. 1611. "Nicetas was archbishop of Heraclea A. D. 1077."

of God[1]: not considering, as he wisely observeth, that while they sought so providently to avoid the danger of losing the benefits once received in baptism, they did run into as great or greater danger, never to receive the same: and that, if the fear of losing the benefit of the grace of baptism once received, may cause us justly to defer the seeking and obtaining of it, we may with as good reason defer and put off to be Christians at all, lest happily in time of persecution and trial we might fall away. This was the fault of sundry in the primitive Church: and which was yet more to be condemned, many did therefore defer and put off their baptism, that so whatsoever evil things they did in the mean time, might in that laver of new birth be washed away; thereby taking greater liberty to offend, for that they had so present means of full remission and perfect reconciliation; so making that which was ordained against sin, and for the weakening and overthrow of it, to be an encouragement thereunto, and to give life and strength unto it.

Seeing, therefore, we are but *in vestibulo pietatis*, while we remain unbaptised, and our feet stand but in the outward courts of the Lord of hosts, we must not rest till we enter into His holy habitation, till we may look into the holiest of all, and behold His glorious presence in the midst of His saints.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE FIRST SORT OF THEM, THAT AFTER THEIR ADMISSION INTO THE CHURCH OF GOD, DO VOLUNTARILY DEPART, AND GO OUT FROM THE SAME.

THEY which, after their entrance and admission into the house of God, depart and go out again, are of two sorts; for either they depart of themselves, leaving the fellowship and forsaking the faith, as Schismatics, and Heretics; or else they are cast out by the censures of the guides of the Church, for their wicked, ungodly, and scandalous conversa-

[1] In vita Ambrosii a Paulino Presbytero ad beatum Augustinum conscripta. [§ 9.]

tion, as excommunicate persons, and such as are enjoined public penance.

Concerning the first sort; Schismatics are they that break the unity of the Church, and refuse to submit themselves and yield obedience to their lawful pastors and guides, though they retain an entire profession of the truth of God[1]; as did the Luciferians and some others in the beginning of their schism; though for the most part, the better to justify their schismatical departure from the rest of God's people, Schismatics do fall into some error in matters of faith. This is the first sort of them that depart and go out from the Church of God and company of his people; whose departure yet is not such, but that notwithstanding their schism, they are and remain parts of the Church of God. For whereas in the Church of God is found an entire profession of the saving truth of God, order of holy ministry, sacraments by virtue thereof administered, and a blessed unity and fellowship of the people of God, knit together in the bonds of peace, under the command of lawful pastors and guides set over them to direct them in the ways of eternal happiness; schismatics, notwithstanding their separation, remain still conjoined with the rest of God's people, in respect of the profession of the whole saving truth of God, all outward acts of religion and divine worship, power of order, and holy sacraments, which they by virtue thereof administer, and so still are and remain parts of the Church of God: but, as their communion and conjunction with the rest of God's people, is in some things only, and not absolutely in all, wherein they have and ought to have fellowship; so are they not fully and absolutely of the Church, nor of that more special number of them, that communicate entirely and absolutely in all things necessary, in which sense they are rightly denied to be of the Church. Which I take to be their meaning that say, they are not of the Church.

[1] "Inter hæresin et schisma hoc esse arbitrantur, quod hæresis perversum dogma habeat schisma propter Episcopalem dissensionem ab Ecclesia separetur, quod quidem in principio aliqua ex parte intelligi potest. Cæterum nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresin, ut recte ab Ecclesia recessisse videatur." Hieron. in iii. ad Titum. [See infra, Book iii. 5, and also Hooker's Eccl. Polity, Book iii. ch. 1.]

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE SECOND SORT OF THEM, THAT VOLUNTARILY GO OUT FROM THE PEOPLE OF GOD.

HERETICS are they that obstinately persist in error contrary to the Church's faith; so that these do not only forsake the fellowship, but the faith also; and, therefore, of these there may be more question, whether notwithstanding their heretical division, they still continue in any sort parts of the Church of God. But this doubt, in my opinion, is easily resolved. For in respect of the profession of sundry divine verities, which still they retain in common with right believers, in respect of the power of order and degree of ministry, which receiving in the Church they carry out with them, and sacraments which by virtue thereof they do administer, they still pertain to the Church[1]. But for that they hold not an entire and full profession of all such saving truths, as to know and believe is necessary unto salvation; for that their pastors and priests, though they have power of order, yet have no power of jurisdiction, neither can perform any act thereof; for that they retain not the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, they are rightly denied to be of the Church[2]: not for that they are not in any sort of it, but

1 "Propter characterem baptismalem quadamtenus ad militantem Ecclesiam pertinet.—Sic hæreticus recedens a fide non dimittitur ut paganus, sed propter baptismi characterem punitur ut transfuga.—Reconciliatus autem non de novo initiatur ut prorsus alienus, sed reparatione aliqua facta ad militiam sine novo sacramento recipiatur." Stapleton [Relect.] Contr. 1, qu. ii. art. 3, notabil. 3.

2 "Potest dici quod potestas quodruplex reperitur in ministris Ecclesiæ. Quædam namque est fundata super ordinem principaliter, ut potestas conficiendi: quædam super jurisdictionem canonicam principaliter, ut potestas excommunicandi: quædam super ordinem et eminentiam, ut potestas ordinandi: quædam super ordinem et jurisdictionem, ut potestas absolvendi et ligandi in foro pœnitentiali. Et quoniam character auferri non potest, ideo potestas, quæ consequitur characterem, de facto auferri non potest. Sed quoniam jurisdictio descendit ordinate a superiori ad inferius, ita quod plenitudo, est in summo pontifice, ideo potest auferre eam et potestatem quæ consequitur ipsam. Unde potest excommunicando auferre potestatem absolvendi et excommunicandi, sed non ordinandi." Bonavent. lib. iv. distinct. 25, quæst. 2.

for that they are not fully and absolutely of it, nor of that more special number of them which communicate in all things wherein Christians should. This more special number of right-believing Christians is, for distinction sake, rightly named the Catholic Church; because it consisteth of them only, that without addition, diminution, alteration, or innovation, in matter of doctrine, hold the common faith once delivered to the saints; and without all particular or private division or faction, retain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

To this purpose is it that Saint Augustine, against the Donatists[1] (who therefore denied the baptism of heretics to be true baptism, and did urge the necessity of rebaptizing them that were baptized by them, for that they are out of the Church), doth show, that all wicked ones, feigned Christians, and false-hearted hypocrites, are secluded from the Church of God, considered in her best and principal parts, and in the highest degree of unity with Christ her mystical head, as well as heretics and schismatics. As, therefore, all they that outwardly profess the truth, and hold the faith of Christ without schism or heresy, are of the Church, and *are within*, as the Scripture speaketh[2], yet are not all of that more special number of them that are *intrinsecus et in occulto intus*, but in more general sort: so likewise heretics and schismatics, though they be not of that special number of them that in unity hold the entire profession of divine truth, are of the Church generally considered, and of the number of them that profess the truth of God revealed in Christ. And this surely Augustine most clearly delivereth.

For when the Donatists did object that heresy is an harlot, and that, if the baptism of heretics be good, sons are born to God of heresy, and so of an harlot; than which,

[1] "Augustinus (De Baptismo contra Donatistas, v. 27, 28) ostendit ab Ecclesia in suis perfectissimis membris considerata et secundum unitatem cum Christo conjunctissimam, non secus separari et extra illam esse impios quam aperte per hæresim præcisos."—Stapl. [Relect.] Contro. I. q. 2, art. i. ad 4.

[2] "Ex illis ergo omnibus, qui, (ut ita dicam), intrinsecus et in occulto intus sunt, constat ille hortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquæ vivæ, paradisus cum fructu pomorum."—De Baptismo contra Donatist. v. cap. xxvii. [or § 38.]

what can be more absurd and impious? his answer was[1], that the conventicles of heretics do bear children unto God, not in that they are divided, but in that they still remain conjoined with the true and Catholic Church; not in that they are heretics, but in that they profess and practise that which Christians should, and do, profess and practise.

It is not, therefore, to be so scornfully rejected by Bellarmine, Stapleton, and others of that faction, that we affirm that both heretics and schismatics are, in some sort, though not fully, perfectly, and with hope of salvation, of the Church; seeing Augustine, in the just and honourable defence of the Church's cause against heretics, did long since affirm the same, not doubting to say, that heretics remain in such sort conjoined to the Church, notwithstanding their heresy; that the true Church in the midst of them, and in their assemblies by baptism ministered by them, doth bear and bring forth children unto God. The not conceiving whereof gave occasion to Cyprian and the African bishops of error, and afterwards to the Donatists of their heresy, touching the rebaptization of them that were baptized by heretics. For, seeing "there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism," seeing God gave the power of the keys, and the dispensation of his Word and Sacraments, only to his Church, if heretics be not of the Church, they do not baptize.

This their allegation they amplified and enlarged from the nature and condition of heresy and heretics, and the high, precious, and divine quality, force, and working, of the Sacraments; thereby endeavouring to show, that so excelleut means, pledges, and assurances, of our salvation, cannot be given by the hands of men so far estranged from God. There is, say they, "one faith, one hope, one baptism[2];" not

[1] De Baptist. cont. Donatist. i. 10. [§ 14.] "Est una Ecclesia quæ sola Catholica nominatur, et quicquid suum habet in communionibus diversorum, a sua unitate separatis, per hoc quod suum in eis habet, ipsa utique generat non illæ."—Et ii. 1 [§ 3]: "Isti in quibusdam rebus nobiscum sunt, in quibusdam vero a nobis exierunt."—Et i. 8 [§ 10]: "Qui seipsos a societate cæterorum separantes, charitate violata, unitatis vinculum rumpunt,—si vero nonnulla eadem faciunt, non se in eis separaverunt, et ex ea parte in texturæ compage detinentur, in cætera scissi sunt. Proinde si quem sibi sociaverint, ex ea parte nectitur ecclesiæ, in qua nec illi separati sunt."

[2] Concilium Carthaginense habetur inter opera Cypriani.

among heretics, where there is no hope, and a false faith; where all things are done in lying, false, and deceivable manner; where he adjureth Satan, that is the vassal of Satan, and possessed of the devil. He proposeth the sacramental demands and words of holy stipulation, whose mouth and words send forth a canker; he giveth the faith, that is himself an infidel; he giveth remission of sins, that is himself most wicked and sinful; Antichrist baptizeth in the name of Christ; he blesseth, that is himself accursed of God; he promiseth life, that is himself dead; he giveth peace, that is himself an enemy to peace; he calleth on the name of God, that is a blasphemer of God; he administereth and executeth the holy office of priesthood, that is profane; he prepareth, furnisheth, and attendeth the altar of God, that is a sacrilegious person. All which objections, howsoever carrying a fair show at the first sight and view, yet are most easily answered, if we consider that heretics, notwithstanding their heresies, do in some sort still pertain to the Church, and so consequently have that degree, order, office, ministry, and calling, which is holy; by virtue whereof they do administer the holy sacraments; even as in the true and Catholic Church, many wicked ones are found, that are no less the vassals of Satan, and possessed of the devil, dead in sin, accursed of God, profane, sacrilegious, and enemies of peace, than heretics and schismatics; who yet for that they have that order, office, and degree of ministry which is holy, do no less nor with less effect, administer the holy sacraments, than they that are samples of all sanctity, piety, and virtue.

[1] Whereupon the schoolmen rightly note, that there are four sorts of ministers, to wit; good, secretly bad, openly

[1] Bonaventur. lib. IV. distinct. 13, qu. 1. ["Aliqui voluerunt distinguere, ex quibus videtur fuisse Magister, quod sacerdotes mali quidam occulte sunt mali, et de Ecclesia saltem nomine et numero, et quoad exteriorem faciem; et tales possunt [conficere.] Alii vero sunt manifeste mali et ab Ecclesia præcisi et tales non possunt. Sed hæc positio videtur consonare positioni Cypriani qui posuit quod heretici non habeant sacramenta vera, quod satis improbat Augustinus. Si autem loquamur quantum ad utilitatem, dicendum quod sacerdos bonus conficit ad utilitatem suam at assistentium; malus occultus ad damnum suum, nihilominus tamen ad utilitatem assistentium qui cum fide et devotione missam audiunt. Sed precisus et hereticus ad damnationem suam et omnium assistentium."]

and apparently wicked, but not put from their office and place, nor cast out of the Church; and, lastly, such as are deprived of their office and dignity, and removed from the happy fellowship of right believers. The first administer the sacraments with benefit, profit, and good to themselves and others. The second with benefit to others, but not to themselves. The third with hurt to themselves, and scandal to others, but yet to the everlasting good of them that receive them, if the fault be not in themselves. The fourth administer those sacraments that are holy, and in their own nature the means, pledges, and assurances of salvation, but without any benefit to themselves or others, because they are in division and schism. Whereas nothing[1], though never so good and excellent, is available to their good, that are out of the unity the people of God should have among themselves. If I give my body to be burned[2], and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing, saith the Apostle.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THEM WHOM THE CHURCH CASTETH OUT BY EXCOMMUNICATION.

HITHERTO we have treated of such as, being once of the Church, of themselves go out from the company of right believers, by schism or heresy. Now it remaineth to speak of them whom the Church casteth out by excommunication.

Excommunication is that sentence of the Church, whereby she ejecteth and casteth out wicked sinners out of her communion. Which communion, what it is, and wherein it consisteth, that we may the better understand, we must observe, that communion is sometimes taken for having the same

[1] "Si quis—ad hæreticos aut schismaticos rejectus ab Ecclesia transeat,—etsi occisus propter nomen [Domini] postmodum fuerit, extra Ecclesiam constitutus, et ab unitate atque a caritate divisus, coronari in morte non poterit."—Cyprian. Epist. iv. 2, 55.

[2] 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

things in common, and sometimes for mutual doing and receiving good, to and from each other.

In the former sense the communion of the Church is of two sorts, *outward* and *inward*. The *outward* consisteth in those things which all they that are of the Church have in common, as the profession of the truth revealed in Christ, and the character of baptism, which, as a note distinctive, separateth Christians from infidels and unbelievers. The *inward* consisteth in those things which only the best parts of the Church have in common; as faith, hope, love, and the like.

The communion of the Church, in the latter sense, consisteth in a mutual and interchangeable course of action, whereby the parts thereof do and receive good, to and from one another, one supplying the want and defect of another. This is of two sorts, *public* and *private*. The *public* consisteth, first, in the prayers which the Church poureth forth for every the least and most contemptible member thereof; thereby obtaining of God the giving, supply, and continuance, of all necessary good, joined with a most happy protection, keeping them from falling into those evils they are subject unto: secondly, in the dispensation of sacraments by the hands of her ministers. *Private*, in mutual conversation of one man with another.

Excommunication[1] doth not deprive the excommunicate of the former kind of communion. For every sentence of excommunication is either just or unjust. If it be unjust, they may still retain all those things which the best parts of the Church have, inward or outward; as sometimes it falleth out through the prevailing of factious, seditious, and turbulent men, that the best men are unjustly and undeservedly cast out of the true Church; as Austin noteth[2]; who though they

[1] "Satis sit dicere non ita ejici fidelem ab Ecclesia per excommunicationem, quin illi maneat subjectus ratione characteris, et unitus per fidem, si alioqui illam non amittit; sed solum quia privatur dicto jure morali ad utendum Eccles. communicatione et participatione." Suarez. tom. v. disp. VIII. sect. 1. [Tom. XX. p. 138, ed. Venet. 1749.] *Quomodo excommunicatus privatur suffragiis Ecclesiæ, idem ostendit in eodem tom. Disp.* IX. *sect.* 3, 4, 5.

[2] De vera Religione, c. 6. [§ 11. "Sæpe etiam sinit divina providentia per nonnullus nimium turbulentas carnalium hominum seditiones

never be permitted to return again and re-enter, yet if they continue without gathering any conventicles, or broaching of heresies, and still love, profess, and seek to promote what in them lieth, the truth of God which is holden and professed in the Church of God, from the assemblies whereof they are unjustly excluded and banished, who dare deny them to be of the Church? And therefore, Bellarmine himself, though he make shew as if he meant to prove that excommunicate persons are not of the Church, as he endeavoureth to do that heretics and schismatics are not, yet he altereth the matter clean, and saith only, they are not in the Church, "corpore et externa communicatione," as if he would only prove that they are excluded from the meetings and assemblies of the Church, and conversing with the people of God[1]. There is therefore no doubt but that they are of the Church, and that, if they patiently endure these indignities, injuries, and wrongs, they shall be highly rewarded of Almighty God. But, saith Bellarmine, they are not of the Church "corporally, and in outward communion:" than which, what could be more frivolously spoken? For who maketh any doubt, but that they are thrust out of the assemblies, so that they may not be bodily present when the people of God do meet together, to perform the acts of divine worship; but that therefore they are not properly of the visible Church, who that advisedly considereth what he saith, would ever say? Seeing they have still the communion, which only is essential, and maketh a man to be of the Church, in that they have all those things, both inward and outward, which the best among them that remain not ejected have; as faith, hope, love, and profession of the whole truth of God, the character of baptism, obedient and humble submission to their lawful superiors; which things and no other are required to make

expelli de congregatione Christiana etiam bonos viros. Quam contumeliam vel injuriam suam cum patientissime pro Ecclesiæ pace tulerint, neque ullas novitates vel schismatis vel hæresis moliti fuerint, docebunt homines quam vero affectu et quanta sinceritate caritatis Deo serviendum sit.—Hos coronat in occulto Pater, in occulto videns."

[1] Controv. tom. II. lib. iii. ch. 6. ["Respondeo talem (sc. injuste excommunicatum) esse in Ecclesia, sive desiderio quod sufficit illi ad salutem, non tamen esse corpore, sine externa communicatione, quæ proprie facit hominem esse de Ecclesia ista visibili, quæ est in terris."]

a man to be of the Church. For the performance of holy duties is an action of them that are already of the Church, and doth not make a man to be of the Church. Yea, the performance of these duties is a thing of that nature, that by violence and the unjust courses holden by wicked men, we may be hindered from it without any fault of ours.

If the sentence of excommunication be just, yet it doth not cut the excommunicate off from the mystical body of Christ, but doth presuppose that they have already cut off themselves; or that if this sentence, being duly and advisedly pronounced, make them not relent, but that still they hold out against it, they will cut off themselves, and deprive themselves of all inward grace and virtue. From the visible Church of Christ it doth not wholly cut them off; for they may, and often do retain the entire profession of saving truth, together with the character of baptism, which is the mark of Christianity; and so far forth notwithstanding their disobedience, still acknowledge them to be their lawful pastors and guides, by whose sentence they are excommunicate, that they would rather endure and suffer anything, than schismatically join themselves to any other communion. It doth therefore only cut them off from communicating with the Church in the performance of holy duties, and deprive them of those comforts, which by communicating in the sacraments, &c. they might have enjoyed.

This excommunication is of two sorts; the greater and the lesser. The greater putteth the excommunicate from the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, and depriveth them of all that comfort and strength of grace, which from it they might receive; it denieth to them the benefit of the Church's public prayers, and so leaveth them to themselves as forlorn and miserable wretches, without that assistance, presence, and protection, which from God she obtaineth for her obedient children. Whence it is, that they are said to be delivered unto Satan, because they are left naked, and void of all means to make resistance, unto his will and pleasure: and as if this were not enough, they are denied that solace which they might find in the company and conversation of the people of God, who now do no less fly from them, than in old time they did from the lepers, who cried, "I am unclean, I am unclean." The lesser excommunication

excludeth only from the sacramental pledges, and assurances of God's love, which, when it is pronounced against them that stubbornly stand out, and will not yield themselves to the Church's direction and disposition, is properly named Excommunication; but when it is pronounced against them that yield when they have offended, and seek the blessed remedies of the evils they have committed, it is not so properly named excommunication, but it is an act of the discipline of repentance, and of that power and authority which Christ left unto his Church, whereby she imposeth and prescribeth to her obedient children, when they have offended, such courses of penitence, whereby they may obtain remission of their sins, and recover the former estate from which they are fallen.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE ERRORS THAT ARE AND HAVE BEEN, TOUCHING THE USE OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH, IN PUNISHING OFFENDERS.

TOUCHING this discipline of repentance, and power of the Church in ordering offenders, and the use thereof, there are and have been sundry both errors and heresies. The first of the Pelagians in former times, and the Anabaptists in our times, who for every the least imperfection cast men out of their societies, denying that any are or can be in or of the Church, in whom the least imperfection is found. Which if it were true, there should be no Church in the world; all men being subject to sin and sinful imperfection, that either are or have been. For it is a vain dispute of the Pelagians, whether a man may be without sin or not; whereof see that which Augustine[1] and Hierome[2] have written against the madness and folly of those men.

For confirmation of their error touching absolute perfection, they allege that of the Canticles[3], "Thou art all fair, my love, and there is no spot in thee:" and that of the Apostle to the Ephesians[4]; that "Christ gave himself for his

[1] De Perfectione Justitiæ, c. Cœlestium.
[2] Contra Pelagianos. [3] Chap. iv. 7. [4] Chap. v. 25, 26, 27.

Church, that he might make it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, but that it should be holy and without blame." For answer whereunto, first we must remember that which formerly was observed, to wit, that sundry glorious titles are given to the Church, which agree not to the whole totally considered, but to some parts only; so it is said to be "fair, glorious, and without spot or wrinkle," not for that all or the most part of them that are of the Church are so, but because the best and principal parts are so; and for that the end, intent, and purpose of the gift of grace given to the Church is to make all to be so, if the fault be not in themselves. Secondly, we must observe that there is a double perfection, purity, and beauty of the Church "without spot or wrinkle," to wit, "absolute; and according to the state of this life." The first is not found in any among the sons of men, while they are clothed with the body of death. And, therefore, if we speak of that absolute purity and perfection, the Church is said to be "pure, all fair, and to have no spot or wrinkle, not for that actually, and presently, it is so, but for that it is prepared to be so hereafter, as Augustine fitly noteth[1]. The second kind of purity, which is "not absolute, but, according to the state of this life," consisteth herein, that all sins are avoided, or repented of, and in Christ forgiven, and his righteousness imputed. In this sense the Church is now presently pure, and undefiled, and yet not free from all sinful imperfections, as the Pelagians and Anabaptists vainly and fondly imagine, contrary to all experience, and the words of the Apostle, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us."

The second error touching the power of the Church in the ordering of sinners, and the use thereof, was that of the Novatians[2], who refused to reconcile and restore to the

[1] "Hoc agitur utique nunc in hoc seculo, ut ad istam quam omnes sancti cupiunt immaculatissimam puritatem Ecclesia sancta perveniat, quæ in futuro seculo neque aliquo malorum hominum sibi permixto, neque aliqua in se lege peccati resistente legi mentis, ducat mundissimam vitam in æternitate divina." Contra Pelag. de natura et gratia, c. lxiii. [§ 75.]

[2] "Miror—quosdam sic obstinatos esse ut dandam non putent lapsis pœnitentiam."—Cypriani epist. iv. 2—55. In eadem epistola ostendit Novatianos mœchis et fraudatoribus communicare qui libellaticis et

Church's peace such as grievously offended, but left them to the judgment of God, without all that comfort which the sacraments of grace might yield unto them; and if any fell in time of persecution, and denied the faith, how great and unfeigned soever their repentance seemed to be, they suffered them not to have any place in the Church of God.

The third, of certain of whom Cyprian[1] speaketh, that would not reconcile nor restore to the Church's peace such as for adultery were cast out.

The fourth, of the Donatists[2], who would not receive into the lap and bosom of the Church, such as having in time of persecution, to save their own lives, delivered the books and other holy things into the hands of the persecutors, did afterwards repent of that they had done, and with tears of repentant grief seek to recover their former standing in the Church of God again; yea, they proceeded so far in this their violent and passionate zeal, that they abandoned the society of them that did; held them not Christians, and re-baptized them which came from them, to their pretended purer societies.

The fifth, of the Luciferians, who received men returning from heresy to the Catholic faith without re-baptization, and enjoined them penitence, and gave them imposition of hands. But bishops that had been drawn into heresy, they would not admit, unless they forsook their office and ministry; against these Hierome writeth his book against the Luciferians[3]. All these did err, urging overmuch the Church discipline in casting off the wicked, and not admitting the unworthy to her happy fellowship.

sacrificatis deteriores sunt. Novatus *refused only to communicate with idolaters: the* Novatians *exclude men from the Communion for other sins, referring unto God alone the power of remitting them.* Socrates. Hist. Eccl. vii. 25.

[1] "Apud antecessores nostros quidam de Episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt, et in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteria clauserunt: non tamen a coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt." Cypr. in eadem epist.

[2] "Plusquam quadraginta anni sunt inter Cypriani passionem et divinorum codicum exustionem, unde isti calumniarum suarum fumos jactantes, occasionem faciendi schismatis invenerunt." Augustin. de Bapt. contra Donatistas, v. 1. [§ 1.]

[3] Adversus Luciferianos, [Op. iv. 290.]

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE CONSIDERATIONS MOVING THE CHURCH TO USE INDULGENCE TOWARDS OFFENDERS.

BUT the true Church admitteth and receiveth all, that with sorrowful repentance return and seek reconciliation, how great soever their offences have been; not forgetting to use due severity, which yet she sometime remitteth, either upon due consideration, or of negligence. The due and just consideration moving the Church to remit something of her wonted severity, is either private, or public peril. Private, as when the party being of a tender, timorous, and relenting disposition, if he be proceeded with rigorously, is in danger to fall into despair, or to be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. In this case the Apostle[1], having excommunicated the incestuous Corinthian, writeth to the Church of Corinth speedily to receive him again, lest he should be swallowed up with overmuch grief: and in this sort the ancient bishops were wont to cut off great parts of enjoined penance; which remission and relaxation was called an indulgence[2]. Out of the not understanding whereof, grew the Popish pardons, and indulgences. Public peril is then, when the multitude, authority, and prevailing of the offenders is so great, as that if they be cut off, and separated from the rest, a schism may justly be feared, without hope of any good to be effected thereby; in this case there is just cause why the Church forbeareth to proceed to excommunication[3]. For whereas the

[1] 2 Cor. ii. 8, 9, 10.

[2] Cajetan. Opuscu. tom. I. tract. 15, cap. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

"Quidam distinguentes forum Dei, et forum Ecclesiæ, dixerunt hujusmodi relaxationes non fieri, nec intelligi quantum ad forum Dei, sed quantum ad forum Ecclesiæ. Hoc autem sic intelligunt. Sacri canones pro mortalibus peccatis graves et diuturnas pœnitentias taxant; quæ pœna adeo gravis est quod vix aut nunquam posset quis facere; et pauci inveniuntur qui vellent. Ideo relaxationes constituerunt fieri." Bonaventura [in Sentent.] lib. iv. dist. 20. quæst. 2. Aliam ipse sequitur opinionem.

[3] "Si contagio peccandi multitudinem invaserit, divinæ disciplinæ severa misericordia necessaria est; nam consilia separationis et inania sunt et perniciosa atque sacrilega, quia et impia et superba fiunt, et plus perturbant infirmos bonos quam corrigunt animosos malos." Augustinus contra Epist. Parmeniani. III. [§ 14.]

end of excommunication is, that evil-doers being put from the company of right-believing Christians, and forsaken of all, may be made ashamed of their evil doing, and so brought to repentance, this cannot be looked for, when the multitude of offenders hath taken away all shame.

These are the due and just motives which cause the Church sometimes to forbear to punish with that extremity, which the quality and condition of the offender's fault may seem to require. But sometimes, of negligence, not led by any of these considerations, she omitteth the due correction of such as have offended God and scandalized his people. So the Corinthians[1], before the Apostle's letter written unto them, suffered an incestuous person, and seemed not much to be moved with so vile a scandal. And the like negligence is often found in the Churches of God, which notwithstanding their fault in this behalf, continue the true Churches of God still[2]; and private men may communicate with them, that, through the Church's negligence, are thus tolerated and suffered, and that both in public acts of religion, and private conversation, without being partakers of their sins, if they neither do the same things, nor approve, like, and applaud them that do, and if they neglect not by all good means to seek their correction and amendment.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THEIR DAMNABLE PRIDE, WHO CONDEMN ALL THOSE CHURCHES WHEREIN WANT OF DUE EXECUTION OF DISCIPLINE, AND IMPERFECTIONS OF MEN, ARE FOUND.

THERE are, and have been always some, who, possessed with a false opinion of absolute sanctity, and spotless righteousness, reject the societies and companies of them in

[1] 1 Cor. v. 1, 2.

[2] "*Auferte*, inquit, *malum ex vobis* ipsis; ut si forte non possent auferre malos a congregatione sua, auferendo malum ex seipsis, id est, non cum eis peccando nec eis ad peccandum consentiendo aut favendo, integerrimi inter eos et incorruptissimi versarentur." Augustinus contra Epist. Parmeniani, lib. iii. § 2.

whom any imperfection may be found; which was the furious zeal of the Pelagians in old time, and the Anabaptists in our time. Others there are, which, though they proceed not so far, yet deny those societies of Christians to be the true Churches of God, wherein the severity of discipline is so far neglected, that wicked men are suffered and tolerated without due and condign punishment. These, while they seem to hate the wicked, and fly from their company for fear of contagion, do schismatically rent, and inconsiderately divide themselves from the body of God's Church, and forsake the fellowship of the good, through immoderate hate of the wicked. Both these do dangerously and damnably err; the first in that they dream of heavenly perfection to be found amongst men on earth, when as contrariwise the prophet Isaiah[1] pronounceth, that "all our righteousness is like the polluted and filthy rags of a menstruous woman." And David[2] desireth of Almighty God, that he will "not enter into judgment with him, for that in his sight no flesh shall be justified:" and Augustine denounceth a woe against our greatest perfections, if God do straitly look upon them. The latter,

[1] Isaiah lxiv. 6. "Nostra, si qua est, humilis est justitia recta forsitan, sed non pura; nisi forte meliores nos esse credimus quam patres nostros, qui non minus veraciter quam humiliter aiebant; *omnes justitiæ nostræ tanquam pannus menstruatæ mulieris.*" Bernard. de verbis Esaiæ, Sermo 5. [Op. Tom. I. p. 954, ed. 1698.] "Hinc afflictus Job: *verebar omnia opera mea,* ait Deo. Et iterum, *si volueris mecum contendere, non potero respondere unum pro mille.* Cui conformis est oratio prophetica: *non intres in judicium cum servo tuo:* et rursus; *si iniquitates observaveris,* &c. Porro quid Isaias se cum cæteris involvens, sibique vilescens humili confessione protulerit, legimus: *omnes justitiæ nostræ tanquam pannus menstruatæ.* Quis igitur justitias suas velut gloriabundus ostentaverit. Deo plusquam pannum confusionis suæ mulier viro." Gerson, de Consolatione Theolog. iv. Pr. 1. [Op. Tom. I. p. 169.]

[2] Aug. in Psal. cxlii. [§ 8.] *in illa verba* non justificabitur omnis vivens, *sic habet.* ["Omnis ita vivens] justificari forte potest coram se, non coram te. Quomodo coram se? sibi placens, tibi displicens.—Noli ergo mecum intrare in judicium Domine Deus meus. Quantumlibet rectus mihi videar, producis tu de thesauro tuo regulam, coaptas me ad eam, et pravis invenior." "Ad me [enim] cum respicio, nihil aliud meum quam peccatum invenio." "Nolo tecum habere causam, ne ego proponam justitiam meam." "Commemorate justitias vestras, ego novi facinora vestra, [inquit Dominus."] Aug. Confess. ix. 13.

though they do not require absolute and spotless perfection in them that are in and of the Church, yet think it not possible that any wicked ones should be found in so happy and blessed a society: not remembering that the Church of God is compared to "a net, that gathereth into it all sorts of fishes, great and small, good and bad[1]," which are not separated one from another, till they be cast out upon the shore; that it is like "a field sown with good seed wherein the envious man soweth tares[2]; like "a floor, wherein wheat and chaff are mingled together[3];" like the "ark of Noah, wherein cursed Cham was as well preserved from drowning as blessed Sem[4]."

But they will say, there may be hypocrites, who, for that their wickedness is not known, cannot be separated from them, who in sincerity serve and worship God; but if their wickedness break forth, that men may take notice of it, either they are presently reformed, or by the censures of the Church cut off from the rest; which course, if it be not so holden, but that wicked ones without due punishment be suffered in the midst of God's people, those societies wherein so great negligence is found, cease to be the true Churches of God, and we may, and must divide ourselves from them. This was the error of the Donatists[5] in former times, and is the error of certain proud and arrogant sectaries in our time. But if the Church of God remained in Corinth, where there were "divisions, sects, emulations, contentions, and quarrels[6];" "and going to law one with another for every trifle, and that under the infidels[7];" where that "wickedness was tolerated and winked at, which is execrable to the very heathens[8];" where "Paul's name and credit was despitefully called in question, whom they should have honoured as a father[9];" where "the resurrection of the dead (which is the life of Christianity) was with great scorn denied[10];" who dare deny those societies to be the Churches of God, wherein the tenth part of these horrible evils and abuses is not to be found?

[1] Matt. xiii. 47.
[2] Matt. xiii. 24, 25.
[3] Matt. iii. 12.
[4] Gen. vii. 13.
[5] Canus [De Loc. Theol.] iv. 3.
[6] 1 Cor. iii. 3.
[7] [1 Cor.] vi. 1.
[8] 1 Cor. v. 1.
[9] 2 Cor. x. 10.
[10] 1 Cor. xv. 12.

We see then the difference between the turbulent disposition of these men, and the mild affection of the Apostles of Christ, who writing to the Corinthians, and well knowing to how many evils and faults they were subject, yet doth not thunder out against them the dreadful sentence of anathema, exclude them from the kingdom of Christ, or make a division and separation from them, but calleth them the Church of Christ and society of saints. What would these men have done, if they had lived amongst the Galatians, who so far adulterated the Gospel of Christ, that the apostle pronounceth, that "they were bewitched;" and if they still persisted in circumcision, and the works of the law with Christ, they "were fallen from grace, and Christ could profit them nothing[1];" whom yet the apostle acknowledgeth to be the Church of God, writing "to the Church which is at Galatia?"

Excellent to this purpose is the counsel of Augustine, in his third book against Parmenian, and second chapter, which he giveth to all that are of a godly and peaceable disposition; "ut misericorditer corripiant quod possunt, quod non possunt patienter ferant, et cum dilectione gemant et lugeant, donec aut emendet Deus ac corrigat, aut in messe eradicet zizania, et paleas ventilet[2]." "That with merciful affection they should dislike, reprove, and correct, as much as in them lieth, what they find to be amiss; what they cannot amend, that they should patiently endure and suffer, and in loving sort bewail and lament, till either God do here in this world correct and amend it, or otherwise in that great harvest in the end of the world, pluck up all tares, and coming with his fan in his hand, purge the wheat from the chaff." Thus, then, we have hitherto showed, who are of the Church, the definition of it, and meaning of such sayings of our divines, as have been by our adversaries mistaken or perverted, together with all such errors and heresies as are or have been concerning the nature and being of the Church.

[1] Gal. iii. 1; v. 4.

[2] ["Misericorditer igitur corripiat homo quod potest; quod autem non potest patienter ferat, et dilectione gemat atque lugeat donec aut ille desuper emendet et corrigat, aut usque ad messem differat eradicare zizania, et paleam ventilare."]

THE SECOND BOOK:

CONCERNING

THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE NATURE OF NOTES OF DIFFERENCE, AND THEIR SEVERAL KINDS.

NOW it remaineth that we come to the second part of our principal and general division; to find out the notes whereby the true Church may be known and discerned from other companies and societies of men in the world. A note, mark, or character, is that whereby one thing may be known and differenced from another. The philosophers observe, that of things not the same, there are two sorts; some wholly diverse, which have no common condition of nature wherein they agree and are the same. These cannot be apprehended by us, but the diversity of nature and condition, and in them, must of necessity be conceived and known otherwise; so that no man, having any apprehension of the nature of a voice or sound, inquireth wherein it differeth from a circle or line, not finding any thing wherein they are the same. These need not any notes or marks of difference whereby to be known one from another.

Other things there are which have many things in common, wherein they agree and are the same, and some other which are so found in one of them that they are not in another. These are not properly said to be wholly diverse, as the former, having many things in common, wherein they agree and are the same; but to differ one from another, in that something is so found in one of them, that is not in another. The distinction of these things thus differing cannot be known by any other means, but by observing what is peculiarly found in each of them: neither is there anything proper or peculiar to any of them, which may not serve for a note or mark of distinction, to discern one of them from another.

That which is proper to a thing, and peculiarly found in it alone, is of two sorts. For either it is said to be proper

and peculiar, respectively and at some one time only, or absolutely and ever. Respectively that is proper to a thing, which, though it be not found in it alone, but in sundry other, yet if we take view of it, and only some certain and definite things besides, is so in it that in none of them, and serveth for a sufficient note of distinction to know it from any of them. So if we seek to difference and discern the nature of man, only from those things that are void of life; sense and motion serve for notes of difference and distinction, and are proper to man, for that they are not found in anything void of life. But if we seek to difference the nature of man from all other things whatsoever; we must find out that which is in man, and in nothing else; in which sort also a thing may be proper and peculiar at some one time, that is not perpetually and ever so, as weeping, laughing, and the like; which though not always found in a man, (for sometimes he neither weepeth nor laugheth) yet when they are, they be notes of difference, distinguishing man from all other things, for that nothing else is at any time capable of any of these.

Perpetually and absolutely that is proper to a thing, which is inseparable and incommunicable, as never being not found in that to which it is proper, nor ever being found in anything else. Those things which are thus and in this sort proper to a thing, either are of the essence of that to which they are proper, or that is of the essence of them: by both these, a thing may be known from all other whatsoever, but more specially by them that are of the essence of that which we desire to know. These things, thus generally observed touching the nature of the notes of difference, whereby one thing may be discerned and known from another, if we apply particularly to the Church, we shall easily know which are the true, certain, and infallible notes thereof, about which our adversaries so tediously contend and jangle, delivering them confusedly without order, and doubtfully without all certainty.

Wherefore, seeing by that we have already observed, it is evident, that there is nothing not proper that may, nor proper that may not, serve as a note of difference to distinguish one thing from another; seeing likewise of things proper and peculiar, there are two sorts, some respectively, and

some absolutely; and of these again, some not perpetually, but at some one time only, and some perpetually and ever; and these either essential to that to which they are peculiar, or essentially depending of it, and flowing from it: let us first see what things are proper to the Church respectively considered; and secondly, what (without such respective consideration) absolutely, generally, and perpetually; which only are perfect notes of difference, whereby the true Church may be perpetually and infallibly known from all other societies of men, professions of religion, and diversities of divine worship that are in the world; and thirdly, such as are generally and absolutely but not perpetually proper.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DIVERS KINDS OF NOTES, WHEREBY THE TRUE CHURCH IS DISCERNED FROM OTHER SOCIETIES OF MEN IN THE WORLD.

THERE are presently, and were formerly, but three main differences of religion in the world,—Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. Paganism is and was that state of religion and divine worship, wherein men having no other light than that of nature, and the uncertain traditions of their erring fathers, to guide them, did and do "change the truth of God into a lie, and worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever[1]." Judaism is that state of religion, wherein men embrace the law which God gave to the children of Abraham and sons of Jacob, reforming heathenish impiety, teaching salvation to be looked for through one, whom God would send in the last days and exalt to be Lord over all. Christianity is the religion of them that believe Jesus Christ to be that Saviour promised to the Jews, "and acknowledge him to be the Son of the living God[2]." They which hold this profession, are called the Church of Christ; neither is there any other society or company of men in the world, that profess so to believe, but they only.

[1] Rom. i. 25. [2] Matt. xvi. 16.

If we take a view of this Church respectively considered, seeking only to difference and distinguish it from the society of Pagan infidels, the profession of divine, supernatural, and revealed verities, is so found in the Church, that not amongst any of these; and so, πρὸς ἕτερον, respectively, it is proper to the Church, and may serve as a note of difference, distinguishing it from these profane and heathenish companies; but from the Jews it doth not sever it; for it is common to it with them; both holding the sacred profession of many heavenly and revealed verities. So that, if we will distinguish Christians from Jews, we must find out that which is so proper and peculiar to the companies and societies of Christians, that it is not communicated to the Jews. Such is the profession of divine verities revealed in Christ, whom only these societies acknowledge to be the Son of God, and Saviour of the world. But for that, when neither heathenish superstition, nor the Jews' perfidious impiety, could any longer prevail, or resist against the knowledge and glory of Christ, but that all the "whole world went after him;" Satan, the enemy of mankind, stirred up certain turbulent, wicked and godless men, who professing themselves to be Christians, under the name of Christ, brought in damnable doctrines of error, no less dangerously erring than did the Pagans and Jews[1]. This profession of the faith of Christ, though it distinguish the Christian Church from the Jews and Pagans, and is so far proper unto it, that it is not found in any of them, yet doth it not separate the multitude of right-believing Christians (which is the sound part of the Christian Church, and is named the orthodox Church) from seduced miscreants, being common to both.

We must, therefore, further seek out that which is so peculiarly found in the more special number of right-believing Christians, that is not in any other, though shadowed under the general name of Christianity. Such is the entire profession of divine verities, according to the rule of faith, left

[1] "Christi adventu detectus ac prostratus inimicus;—sed videns ille idola derelicta, et per nimium credentium populum sedes suas ac templa deserta, excogitav[er]it novam fraudem, ut sub ipso Christiani nominis titulo fallat incautos. Hæreses invenit, et schismata, quibus subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, scinderet unitatem." Cyprian. de unitate Ecclesiæ; [pp. 387, 8. ed. Paris. 1841.]

by Christ, and his first disciples and scholars, the holy apostles.

This entire profession of the truth revealed in Christ, though it distinguish right believers from heretics, yet it is not proper to the happy number and blessed company of Catholic Christians, because schismatics may and sometimes do hold an entire profession of the truth of God revealed in Christ. It remaineth, therefore, that we seek out those things that are so peculiarly found in the companies of right believing and Catholic Christians, that they may serve as notes of difference to distinguish them from all, both Pagans, Jews, heretics and schismatics. These are of two sorts; for either they are such as only at sometimes and not perpetually, or such as do perpetually, and ever sever the true Church from all conventicles of erring and seduced miscreants. Of the former sort was multitude, largeness of extent, and the name of Catholic, esteemed a note of the Church, in the time of the fathers. The notes of the latter sort, that are inseparable, perpetual, and absolutely proper and peculiar, which perpetually distinguish the true Catholic Church from all other societies of men and professions of religions in the world, are three: First, the entire profession of those supernatural verities, which God hath revealed in Christ his Son: Secondly, the use of such holy ceremonies and sacraments as he hath instituted and appointed to serve as provocations to godliness, preservations from sin, memorials of the benefits of Christ, warrants for the greater security of our belief, and marks of distinction, to separate his own from strangers: Thirdly, an union or connexion of men in this profession and use of these sacraments, under lawful pastors and guides, appointed, authorized, and sanctified, to direct and lead them in the happy ways of eternal salvation. That these are notes of the Church, it will easily appear, by consideration of all those conditions that are required in the nature of notes. They are inseparable, they are proper, and they are essential, and such things as give being to the Church, and therefore are in nature more clear and evident, and such as that from them the perfect knowledge of the Church may and must be derived. Notwithstanding, for that our adversaries take exception to them, I will first examine their objections; and secondly prove, that neither they, nor any

other that know what they write and speak, can or do assign any other. And because Bellarmine and Stapleton have taken most pains in this argument, I will therefore propose the objections I find in them, assuring myself that there are not any other of moment, to be found in the writings of any other of that side.

CHAPTER III.

OF BELLARMINE'S REASONS AGAINST THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH ASSIGNED BY US.

BELLARMINE'S first objection is: "By these notes we know not who are elect; therefore by these we do not certainly know which is the true Church." The consequence of this reason we deny, as being most fond and false. He proveth it in this sort: "The Church, according to the doctrine of the Protestants, is only the number of the elect; and therefore if the elect be not known and discerned by these from the reprobate and castaways, the Church cannot be known by them[1]." But the antecedent of this argument is likewise false, as appeareth by that which I have formerly delivered, touching the nature and being of the Church; for we do not say that the Church consisteth only of the elect, but principally, intentionally, and finally. For otherwise it consisteth of all that partake in the outward calling of grace, and enjoying of the means of salvation, and so may be known by these notes. For that society doubtless hath and enjoyeth the means of salvation, to which the notes above specified do agree.

Secondly, he reasoneth thus: "The true and certain notes whereby the Church is known, are inseparable; but there may be true Churches that hold not the entire and sincere profession of supernatural truths revealed in Christ;

[1] ["Hæ notæ non sunt ullo modo sufficientes; nam imprimis non declarant, quæ non sit vera Ecclesia secundum hæreticos, nisi probabiliter; non enim hinc scire possumus, qui sint electi, vel justi, et potius discimus, ubi lateat Ecclesia, quam quæ sit."] Bellarmin. Controv. Tom. II. et Ecclesia militante De Concil. lib. iv. cap. 2.

therefore this profession is no note of the Church. That there may be true Churches without the entire and sincere profession of the truth of God, appeareth by the examples of the Churches of Corinth, Galatia, and other, to whom Paul wrote, and gave them the titles and names of the Churches of God, and yet they erred in the matter of the resurrection, and the necessity of the law of Moses to be joined with the gospel[1]." To the minor proposition of this argument, we answer by a double distinction; the first taken out of Stapleton[2], that a multitude or company of Christians may be said to be a true Church, either only because it hath the true nature and essence of a Church, or because, besides that, it hath all those things that pertain to the integrity and plenitude thereof. The second, that there is a double sincerity and purity of the profession of the truth of God, revealed in Christ; the first free from all damnable, fundamental, and pertinacious error; the other from all error whatsoever. The former is an inseparable note of the true Church. For there is no being of a Church to be found, where that sincerity and purity of profession is not. The latter is a note of a pure and perfect Church, and is inseparably proper unto it. So that proportionably, sincerity and purity of profession is always inseparably proper to the Church. Absolute to the Church, that is, absolutely perfect; and in an inferior degree and sort, to that which is in any sort a Church. For seeing (as Stapleton rightly affirmeth) the true faith is the life of the Church, it cannot be the true Church that pertinaciously erreth in the

[1] [Ibid. "Tertio, veræ notæ sunt inseparabiles a vera Ecclesia, sed ecclesiæ Corinthiorum et Galatarum, ad quas scribebat Paulus, veræ ecclesiæ erant, et tamen alibi non erat aliquando sincera prædicatio verbi, ut ex apostolo cognosci potest, qui dicit se scribere ecclesiis Dei, quæ sunt Corinthi vel in Galatia, (1 Corinth. i. et Galat. i.); et tamen 1 Corinth. xv. arguuntur Corinthii quod dicerent non esse futuram resurrectionem; et Galatæ per totam fere epistolam reprehenduntur, quod docerent servandam esse legem Mosis cum Evangelio."]

[2] Relect. Con. i. q. 4 art. 5. exposit. articuli. [pp. 117, 8. "Ipsa vera Ecclesia dici et intelligi potest multis modis: vel propter veram naturam et essentiam Ecclesiæ quam habet, vel quia præter naturam simplicem, etiam omnia illa habet quæ ad ejus integritatem et plenitudinem attinent, vel denique quia præter hæc duo etiam perfectionem habet, qualis in vera Ecclesia interdum reperitur."]

substance and main grounds of the faith. What is a fundamental error, and what that pertinacy, that cannot be found in the true Church of God, I will then make manifest when I come to speak of the nature of schism and heresy.

His third reason he proposeth in this sort: "Notes of the Church must be proper to the Church, and such things as are not to be found in any society or company of men besides; but this sincerity and soundness of profession may be found in other societies and companies of men besides, namely, amongst schismatics, as appeared in the Luciferians, and some others in the beginning of their schism[1], though for the most part, the better to justify their schismatical separation, they add heresy to schism[2]." To the major proposition of this argument we answer, that the notes of the Church are of two sorts; either absolute, full, and perfect, generally differencing and distinguishing it from all other societies whatsoever; or only from some certain. Those notes that absolutely and generally distinguish the Church from all other societies and companies whatsoever, are so peculiar to the true Church, that they are not found anywhere else; but they which do distinguish it but only from certain, are proper only πρὸς ἕτερον, and respectively, that is, so that they are not found in any of those things, from which they do distinguish it. Notes of the former sort are all those three things jointly concurring, whereof I spake in the beginning; to wit, entire profession of saving truth, and right use of sacraments, and union under lawful pastors. These jointly cannot be found among Pagans, Jews, heretics, schismatics, nor any other seduced or misled people whatsoever. But the entire profession of saving truth singly and by itself, is a note distinguishing the Church from infidels and heretics only, and so is not absolutely, but respectively proper to the true Church, so far forth that it is not found in any of these.

Fourthly he reasoneth, that "purity of profession can be no note of the Church, for that absolute purity is not necessarily required to the being of a Church; for that the

[1] Hieron. in Epist. ad Titum cap. 3. [See above, p. 42.]

[2] [Ibid. "Notæ debent esse propriæ, non communes. Sed esse potest pura doctrina ab omni errore in falsa Ecclesia; nam schismatici puri ut quondam Luciferiani et Donatistæ, initio integram habent doctrinam; et tamen sunt extra Ecclesiam."]

Church may be without it: and that other purity free from essential and fundamental error, is no note, for that it doth not distinguish the Church from heretics; for there have been, and may be heretics, which err not in any matter directly fundamental[1]." But who seeth not that he reasoneth sophistically, from an imperfect division of the purity of the Church's profession? For there are three sorts of it; the first absolute, and that is not necessarily required in the being of the Church; the second free from fundamental and essential error, and that is necessarily required in the Church, and company of right believers, but it is not peculiar to it, for it may be found among heretics; and a third free from pertinacious error, and that is ever found in the true Church, and never among heretics. It is this last kind of purity of profession, which we make a note of the Church.

Lastly, he endeavoureth to improve the notes assigned by us, for that, "notes must not only be inseparable and peculiar, but they must be such as may not be challenged or pretended by any other[2]." As if he should thus say, I may not direct my man to seek out one whom I desire to speak with, being in company with two or three more, by this note, that he is the tallest man of the company, though evidently he be so, if any one of the rest foolishly imagine himself as tall or taller; or by wearing a garment of some certain colour or dye, because some one or other not exactly distinguishing the diversities of colours, may think himself to have the like. "But,"

[1] [Ibid. "Jam vero sincera prædicatio veritatis est nota communissima omnibus sectis, saltem opinione ipsarum: nam vel debet esse prædicatio pura ab omni errore, vel solum ab essentialibus et fundamentalibus. Si detur primum, ex hac ipsa nota colligemus, apud nullos Lutheranorum esse ecclesiam, nam ipsi fatentur suas ecclesias non carere nævis. Si secundum, jam erit nota communis multis sectis. Certe Lutherani et Zwingliani non dissentiunt de fundamento præcipuo fidei, ut de Trinitate."]

[2] [Ibid. "Notæ debent esse propriæ, non communes. Si enim velim designare tibi certum hominem, quem nunquam vidisti, ut mox atque eum videris discernas ab aliis, non debeo dicere, est quidam qui habeat duos oculos, duas manus, etc. nam hæc sunt communia omnibus. Neque etiam debeo eum designare per notas, quæ licet sint eo propriæ secundum rem, tamen non sunt propriæ opinione aliorum, cum multi sibi illas vendicare soleant. Sic enim nunquam ille, qui quæritur, inveniretur."]

saith he, "they must be so proper, that no other must pretend or challenge them with any probability." This likewise is false even in the notes which himself bringeth: for who knoweth not, that the Grecians and others pretend antiquity, succession, universality, and the like, as well as the Church of Rome, and that not without all probability? Thus we see how weakly this great champion hath performed that which he undertook.

CHAPTER IV.

OF STAPLETON'S REASONS AGAINST OUR NOTES OF THE CHURCH.

LET us see if Stapleton quit himself any better. His first reason is taken from the uncertainty of our doctrine, in this sort: "The doctrine of the Protestants is most uncertain, doubtful, and full of contradiction; therefore they do unadvisedly make truth of doctrine a note of the Church;" for "the notes of the Church must be constant and perpetual[1]." The antecedent of this argument we reject as most false and calumnious. For the whole course of our doctrine is most constant and certain, as shall appear by that which followeth. That which he allegeth, that we agree not touching the nature, quality, and members of the Church, is sufficiently refuted by that which I have already delivered touching that matter in the former part.

Secondly, he reasoneth from our confession; for, saith he, "Calvin and Melancthon acknowledge these notes to be uncertain[2]." This, whoso taketh a view of the places cited by

[1] Relect. Controv. 1. De Ecclesia in se. q. 4. art. 5. Refutatio notarum in quibus hæretici convenire videntur. ["Hæretici nihil habent in sua doctrina certum et constans, ne quidem in primariis dogmatibus, quæ ad fundamentum pertinent.—Jam visum est quod nec in membris, nec in qualitate, nec in notis Ecclesiæ assignandis inter se conveniant, aut constanter idem doceant.—Ergo saltem apud illos doctrina vera non potest esse nota Ecclesia." p. 110.]

[2] [Ibid. "Heretici ipsi agnoscunt has esse incertas notas. Ergo non sunt veræ notæ. Calvinus docet, *ubicumque hæ duæ notæ reperiun-*

him, shall find to be most false. Calvin indeed saith, that not the bare preaching of the truth, but the receiving, embracing, and professing of it, is necessary to the being of the Church; but touching the uncertainty of these notes he saith nothing[1]. That which he objecteth, that we make the Church to be only the number of the elect, and that therefore it cannot be known by these notes, is answered in the refutation of Bellarmine's first reason[2].

His third allegation is this: "There are many that do truly pertain to the Church, to whom these notes agree not; therefore they are no notes of the Church." The antecedent we deny; he proveth it out of our own doctrine. "Many not yet called pertain to the Church; but these notes agree not to such; therefore there are many to whom these notes agree not, which yet pertain to the Church[3]." To the major proposition we answer thus. Of them that pertain to the Church, there are two sorts; for some pertain to it actually, some potentially only, and according to the purpose of God's will. To both these, these notes agree, but in different sort and manner; to them that are actually of the Church, they actually agree, for they do presently make profession of the truth of God, and join with the people in the use of holy Sacraments appointed by him: to them that potentially and according to the purpose of God's will pertain to the Church, as do all the elect not yet outwardly called, these notes agree only potentially, and according to the purpose of God's will,

tur, ibi aliquam esse Dei Ecclesiam; quod aliis verbis dixit Melancthon in locis com.: *ibi manere aliquas Ecclesiæ reliquias, quæ reliquiæ sunt veræ Ecclesiæ.*"]

[1] "Non dico, ubicunque prædicatur verbum, illic fructum mox exoriri: sed nullibi recipi et statam habere sedem, nisi ut suam efficaciam proferat. Utcunque sit, ubi reverenter auditur Evangelii prædicatio, neque Sacramenta negliguntur, illic pro eo tempore neque fallax, neque ambigua Ecclesiæ apparet facies." Calvin. Institut. iv. 1. § 10. Idem sentit Melancthon.

[2] [Relect. Contr. 1. ut supra. "Non ponunt ergo ista tanquam certa signa quæ infallibiliter et simpliciter ostendunt Ecclesiam, sed tanquam notas probabiles, ut ibi sint aliqui de Ecclesia, ubi ista reperiuntur. Et ratio hujus positionis est, quia juxta illos ex solis electis constat vera Ecclesia." p. 111.]

[3] [Ibid. "Calvinistarum hodie doctrina est, vere ad Ecclesiam pertinere multos nondum vocatos.—Sed isti utraque hac nota carent. Ergo non est propria et convertibilis cum Ecclesia."]

for that in due time they shall come to the knowledge and profession of the truth, and use of those happy means of salvation, which others actually enjoy.

His fourth objection, that "the entire profession of the truth agreeth to schismatics," is answered already, being likewise objected by Bellarmine[1].

Fifthly, he reasoneth thus: "The truth of heavenly doctrine and right use of Sacraments are no notes of the Church, because they do not shew us which is the Church." We answer that they do: he proveth they do not, because "the true Church is known of us before we can know any of these[2]." This we deny, for we say, a man must know which is true doctrine, and what is the right use of Sacraments, before he can know which is the true Church. This he thinketh impossible, because we seek to learn the truth of the Church; and therefore we must in the beginning of our inquiry know, which is the true Church, and where assuredly truth is found, or else our whole search and inquiry is doubtful, uncertain, and often without success. For the clearing of this doubt, we must observe, that seeking is a motion of the mind, desiring to know where a thing is, or what it is: he that desireth to know where a thing is, either knoweth the place, within compass whereof he is sure it is, or else his search is doubtful, uncertain, and often in vain. What a thing is, we desire to know, either by our own discourse, or by the instructions or directions of another: he that seeketh after a thing, desiring to know it by the directions of another, either knoweth not particularly and certainly of whom to inquire, with assurance that from him he shall receive satisfaction, and this kind of search and inquiry is always doubtful, and often

[1] [Ibid. "Schismatici omnes nondum heretici possunt tenere totam veram doctrinam, et rectum sacramentorum usum, saltem proprie et strictim acceptum." 4 Refut. p. 111.]

[2] [Ibid. "Hæ duæ notæ non demonstrant ubi sit Ecclesia, sed Ecclesia demonstrat ubi sunt hæ duæ. Quæ enim sit vera doctrina, et quis sit rectus usus Sacramentorum—Ecclesia docet.—Has ob causas notior est et esse debet vera Ecclesia quam doctrina ejus. Notior esse debet apud quem aliquid quæro, et a quo accipere aliquid debeo, quam id ipsum quod quæro.—Non ergo veritas ipsa seu doctrinæ, seu Sacramentorum, est nota qua Ecclesiam invenias aut cognoscas; sed ipsa Ecclesia, quæ veritatis magistra est, prius cognosci debet, ut veritatem invenias." pp. 111, 2.]

without success; or else he knoweth particularly of whom to inquire with assurance of resolution and satisfaction. Now if we apply this which hath been said, to that which Stapleton allegeth, we shall easily answer his objection. For when infidels, and men wholly ignorant of the truth of God, begin first to seek it, they do not know certainly where they may find it; and being left to themselves, would often seek in vain, as he saith: but being directed by divine providence, and the help of others, to the true Church which they know not, and being taught by her, they are established in the persuasion of the truth taught by her, in such sort, as they make no doubt of it; and are further resolved, that that must needs be the Church of God, and company of them whom he loveth, where these truths are in such sort known and taught, as they find them to be there. It is therefore untrue that Stapleton saith, that "the Church is better and sooner known than the doctrine of it." For the doctrine is in some sort known, before we can know the Church that teacheth us. For even as a man wholly ignorant, and knowing none of the precepts and principles of geometry, cannot possibly know who is learned in that kind of knowledge; but either casually, or by direction of others meeting with one excelling therein, learneth of him; and then by that which he hath learned of him, knoweth him to be a skilful professor thereof, and ever after resorts unto him, if in any thing he be doubtful, with assurance of satisfaction; whose perfections, when he began to learn, he knew not, but either casually met with him, or by the directions of others, and not of his own choice: so we know not the Church, what it is, which it is, nor how excellent it is, till we have learned some part of the doctrine it teacheth, and are directed to it without any certainty of our own knowledge; but being once established in the certainty of the truth of the things she teacheth, we thereby know her to be the Church of God, beloved of him, led into all truth by him, and appointed a faithful witness, and skilful mistress of heavenly truth; and then in all our doubts and uncertainties, we ever after resort unto her, with full assurance of satisfaction and resolution. Thus then we see, how both the Church sheweth us the truth of heavenly doctrine, and that again the Church, but in different sort; the Church doctrinally proposing to us what we must embrace

and believe; and the doctrine of the truth, believed and embraced by us, really demonstrating to us that to be the Church, in which so precious and saving truths are taught and professed; and that the first repair and resort of infidels to the Church, proceedeth from the direction of others, or something which they see, that maketh them inquire farther after her; but not from their own knowledge of her infallibility, and the precious treasures of heavenly truth which she possesseth, as Stapleton vainly fancieth.

In his sixth objection, first he saith: "Truth of doctrine and right use of Sacraments are things, without which the Church is not entire and full:" contrary to Bellarmine, who therefore excludeth them from being notes, because they are separable, and the Church may be without them. Secondly, in the same place he saith, that "these things do depend of the Church, flow from it, and are in order of nature after the being of it, not giving being to it, or concurring in the constitution of it; and therefore cannot be notes[1];" but elsewhere he saith: "The things that give being to the Church, are the same with the Church," and so cannot be more evident, nor easy to be known than the Church itself[2]. Thirdly, in his seventh reason he saith: "These are the notes whereby wise and spiritual men do know the Church:" and again in his ninth, that "to demonstrate the Church by these notes, is *demonstrare idem per idem*, to demonstrate the same by the same: For, saith he, "when we ask which is that society that holdeth the true profession, &c.; and they that assign these notes answer, it is that which holdeth the true profession, &c.[3]" If this

[1] ["Ibid. Vera doctrina et rectus Sacramentorum usus sunt dotes et ornamenta Ecclesiæ necessaria, sine quibus integra et plena non est, sed non per quæ innotescit. Ratio est, quia ab Ecclesia ipsa dependent, profluunt, atque promanant, ut naturâ posteriora, non autem illam proxime constituunt atque discernunt." p. 112.]

[2] Eadem cont. q. 4. art. 5. notabili 3. ["Non omne quod vel constituit vel perficit Ecclesiam, esse consequenter notam ejus, nisi hujusmodi sit quod clarum et evidens quærenti appareat. Certe quod Ecclesiam intrinsece constituit, cum illa coincidit, ideoque non est aliquid ipsa notius. Quod autem perficit illam, commune judicium fugit, ideoque ut plurimum est ignotius." p. 119.]

[3] ["Ecclesia Christi a sapientibus quidem et spiritualibus ipsis, quales sunt Ecclesiæ magistri et pastores, cognoscitur per sanam doc-

man be not possessed with a spirit of giddiness, saying, and unsaying, affirming, [and] denying the same things in the same page, and so indeed saying he knoweth not what, let the reader, how partial soever he be, judge.

To that which he addeth, that "faith is known from infidelity, religion from superstition, a believer from an infidel, and a Catholic from an heretic, by true doctrine and right use of Sacraments, that they are essential to them, and give them their being, but that the whole collected multitude of right believers must be known by those things which are proper and essential to such an united multitude, as universality and the like[1];" We say, that there is nothing, besides sincerity of profession and right use of Sacraments, essential to the Church as a collected multitude, but only order and orderly connexion, or union of men concurring in these; while some authorised thereunto do teach, direct, and command, others obey; which if we add to the former two, we shall find all, and only those notes which we assign. Neither are sincere profession and right use of Sacraments so essential to believing and catholic men, that they do sufficiently distinguish them from schismatics, unless this be added, that they "hold the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace:" so that as they do not sufficiently distinguish the whole body of the Church from the conventicles of schismatics, unless an orderly connexion of men concurring in them be added, which orderly union or connexion is essen-

trinam, et rectum Sacramentorum usum. 7 Refut. p. 113.—Postremo hæ notæ non magis demonstrant Ecclesiam, quam idem per idem demonstrari potest. Quum enim quæritur quæ sit vera Ecclesia, prorsus hoc quæritur, quæ sit illa populi Christiani societas quæ veram doctrinam tenet et vere Deum colit, sive in sacramentis, sive aliter. Ad hanc quæstionem respondet hodie hæreticus: Illa societas populi Christiani veram doctrinam tenet, apud quam est vera doctrina." 9 Refut. p. 115.]

[1] ["Fides a perfidia, religio a superstitione, fidelis ab infideli, Catholicus ab hæretico et schismatico ex recta doctrina et recto Sacramentorum usu distinguitur; Ecclesia autem seu multitudo collecta fidelium a falsis conventiculis dignoscitur et distinguitur per ea quæ illi ut tali collectæ multitudini competunt, quæque illi ut tali corpori sunt propria. Illa autem sunt notæ a nobis assignatæ, universalitas locorum, antiquitas seu propagatio perpetua, successio continua atque legitima, unitas fidei et pastorum Ecclesiæ." 6 Refut. p. 112.]

tial to the Church as a collected multitude, so do they not a Catholic from a schismatic: but on the other side, who is so foolish as to deny, that the profession of truth, and right use of sacraments, are essential to the whole body of the Church? Seeing, as Stapleton himself saith[1], *Recta fides est anima Ecclesiæ*, "right faith is the very life and soul of the Church;" which is nothing else but an orderly multitude of right believers, and is collected and gathered in the true faith of Christ, and hope of eternal happiness; which as it cannot be known and discerned from the conventicles of schismatics, by right faith and due use of Sacraments only, without the addition of orderly connexion; so likewise on the contrary side, it cannot be known without these, and therefore of necessity they must be notes, though not sole and only notes.

In the seventh there is nothing but that which refuteth that himself elsewhere saith, or is refuted by him. For when he saith that "wise men do know and discern the Church by the notes assigned by us," he doth acknowledge that they do acknowledge the Church in the perfectest sort that may be; which in his ninth he denieth, saying, that "to demonstrate the Church by them, is to demonstrate the same by the same:" and in his eighth maketh it "savour of heresy at least, to think to find out the true Church by them." Whereas in the same place he appropriateth these notes only to the wiser sort of men, as not being within the compass of ignorant men's conceit. Surely those which he assigned are less obvious to the knowledge of the vulgar sort than these, as shall appear in that which followeth.

His eighth reason, that "the notes of the Church must be such as may not be challenged or pretended by the heretics," is answered already in the refutation of the reasons brought by Bellarmine. That which he addeth concerning their notes of "antiquity, unity, succession, and universality, that they are so clearly proper and peculiar to the Church of Rome, that we do not deny them to agree to it, but deny

[1] Cont. I. de Ecclesia in se. q. 3, art. 6, Expos. art. notabili 3. ["Tertio notabimus, quum recta fides sit anima Ecclesiæ, nullam hominum societatem quæ in rectæ fidei substantia pertinaciter aberrat, Ecclesiæ nomen retinere posse." p. 62.]

them to be notes of the true Church," is wholly false[1]. For we peremptorily deny any of these notes to agree to the Romish Church; and with such explication, as they (forced with our arguments) now make of them, we most willingly admit them, and will prove, that they differ not really from them assigned by us.

His ninth, that "the notes assigned by us are no notes of the Church, because to demonstrate the Church by them, is to demonstrate the same by the same, (for that when we ask which is the true Church, we ask which is the Church that holdeth the true profession and right use of the sacraments;") is a mere sophistical cavillation. For the better manifestation whereof, we must observe, that he that seeketh to find out the true Church, at the first is wholly ignorant of whatsoever pertaineth to the nature and being of it, as infidels that know not what the very name of the Church importeth; and then surely the first thing, that he, that is thus wholly ignorant, inquireth after, is not, which is that society that holdeth the profession of saving truth, as Stapleton saith; (for he knoweth not that there is any such profession or society so professing;) but about the signification of the word, and meaning of the name of the Church: whom we satisfy, if we say no more, but that it is a society or company of men called by the working of grace to the hope of eternal happiness. But if, when he knoweth thus much, and is not ignorant what the word importeth, he do further desire to know which among all the societies of men in the world it is, that hath this happy and precious hope; we satisfy him by shewing him, that things are so peculiar and proper to it, that wheresoever he findeth them, he may assure himself, that that company and society of men hath the assured hope of eternal happiness, and is the true Church of God; as namely, the entire profession of revealed truth, according to the rule of faith left by Christ, and the right and due use of sacraments, under lawful pastors and guides appointed to conduct the sons of

[1] ["Cont. 1. de Ecclesia in se. q. 4, art. 5. Notæ autem debent ita conspicuæ esse, ut nec ab adversariis facile prætexi queant, nec ullo modo controversæ aut dubiæ sint.—Nam ideo hæretici non disputant an apud nos sit antiquitas, successio, universalitas, unitas; sed hoc disputant, an istæ proprietates sint pro certis notis Ecclesiæ veræ habendæ, quod nos abunde probavimus." 8 Refut. pp. 114, 5.]

God, in the ways of their eternal bliss and happiness. Now when he knoweth the entire profession of saving truth, &c., to be proper and peculiar to the true Church, if yet still he know not truth from error, and the right use of Sacraments from the profanation of them, and therefore ask of us in the third place which is the true profession, and which is the multitude that hath it, we will not tell him, as Stapleton vainly fancieth, that it is that which holdeth and embraceth the truth; but we will shew him how to know the truth from falsehood; that so, wheresoever he findeth it professed and taught, he may know that society that so professeth, as he now knoweth the truth in Christ to be, is the true Church of God. Even as, if one ask of us, how he may know such a nobleman's servant in the prince's court, we satisfy him, if we tell him they are clothed with scarlet, if none other but they only be so clothed; but if he know not scarlet, and ask of us in the second place, which is scarlet, and who they are that wear it, we will not tell him they that wear it, but shew him how he may know it, that so when he seeth it, he may assure himself he hath found the men he inquired after.

CHAPTER V.

OF THEIR NOTES OF THE CHURCH, AND FIRST OF ANTIQUITY.

THUS having answered the reasons brought by our adversaries against the notes of the Church assigned by us, let us proceed to take a view of such as are allowed by them, and see if they be not the very same in substance with ours. The notes that they propose unto us, are Antiquity, Succession, Unity, Universality, and the very name and title of Catholic, expressing the Universality[1].

Antiquity is of two sorts: primary, and secondary. Primary is proper unto God, who is eternal, whose being is from everlasting: who is absolutely the first, before whom

[1] Bellarmine, Controv. Tom. II. lib. iv. 4. sq.

nothing was, and from whom all things receive being, when as before they were not. This kind of Antiquity is a most certain proof and demonstration of truth and goodness. Of this they speak not, who make Antiquity a note of the Church. Wherefore letting this pass, let us come to the other; which, for distinction sake, we name secondary Antiquity.

This is of two sorts: the first we attribute to all those things which began to be long ago, and since whose first beginning there hath been a long tract of time. This is no note or proof of truth or goodness; for the devil was both a liar and a murderer long ago, even immediately after the beginning. And there are many errors and superstitions which began long since, yea before the name of Christians was once named in the world: and sundry heresies, that were coætaneal, and as ancient as the apostles' times, and that began before the most famous Churches in the world were planted. This kind of antiquity it is, that Cyprian speaketh of: "Non debemus attendere quid alius ante nos [fecerit, aut] faciendum esse putaverit, sed [quid] qui ante omnes est Christus, prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed Dei veritatem[1]." *Et alibi:* "Non est de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum[2]." *Et ad Pompeium:* "Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est[3]." "We must not regard what any other did before us, or thought fit to be done, but what Christ did, who was before all. Neither must we follow the customs of men, but the truth of God." And in another place: "We must not prescribe upon custom, but persuade by reason:" and writing to Pompeius: "Custom without truth is nothing else but inveterate error." There is therefore another kind of antiquity, which is not long continuance, or the being before many other, but the prime, first, and original being of each thing: this is a sure proof of goodness and perfection. For all defects found in things are swervings, declinings, and departures from their original and first estate. For truth is before falsehood, and good before evil, and the habit before privation. "Veritas," saith Tertullian, "in omnibus imaginem antecedit,

[1] Epist. lxiii. [p. 219. Ed. Paris. 1841.]
[2] Epist. ad Quint. [lxxi. p. 255.]
[3] Epist. lxxiv. [p. 282.]

postremo similitudo succedit[1]." "The truth is before any counterfeit similitude, or representation; the truth is first, and then afterwards there are imitations[2]." That therefore that is first in any kind or sort of things, is truest and best: and consequently, that Church that hath prime and absolute antiquity, is undoubtedly the true Church.

This Antiquity, a Church may be said to have three ways; either only because the first constitution of it was most ancient, as taking beginning from the first publishers of heavenly knowledge, the apostles of Christ, the immediate, indubitate, and prime witnesses of the truth of God, whatsoever her declining have been since; or because, as her first constitution was most ancient, in that she received the faith from the apostles, or such as she knew undoubtedly to hold communion with them, so she is not since gone from it, in whole or in part, but still hath the same being she first had; or thirdly, because the profession it holdeth is the same that was delivered by the prime, immediate, and indubitate witnesses, and publishers of the truth of God, though it began to be a Church but yesterday. The antiquity of the first constitution of a Church is no sufficient proof or note of the truth or soundness of it; neither do they that plead most for antiquity, think it a good proof for any company or society of Christians, to demonstrate themselves to be the true Church of God, because they have had the profession of Christianity ever since the apostles' times, by whose means they were first converted to the faith, and established in the profession of the same. For then the Church of Ephesus might at this day prove itself a true Church of God; yea, many Churches in Æthiopia are yet remaining, which have continued in the profession of Christianity, ever since the apostles' times. But this is all they say, that if any Church founded by the apostles, or their coadjutors, and left by them in the true profession, as were the Churches of Rome, Antioch, Ephesus, and the like, can demonstrate that they have not since departed from their first and original estate, they thereby do prove them-

[1] In his book of Prescript. against Heretics. ["Sed enim in omnibus veritas imaginem antecedit: post rem similitudo succedit." p. 212, ed. Venet. 1744.]

[2] Contra Praxeam, [p. 635.] "Id esse verum quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius."

selves to be the true Churches of God. And if any other that began since, as innumerable did, can shew that they have the faith first delivered to the saints, they thereby prove themselves no less to be the true Church of God than the former, which had their beginning from the apostles themselves, and have continued in a state of Christianity ever since. Do we not see then, that it is truth of doctrine, whereby the Church is to be found out, even in the judgment of them that seem most to say the contrary? They admit no plea of antiquity on the behalf of any Churches whatsoever, though established by the apostles, unless they can prove that they have not left their first faith. So that this is still the trial, if they may be found to have the truth of profession, &c.[1] "Ad hanc notam [antiquitatis] sibi venditandam, non satis est quod aliqua societas sub titulo Ecclesiæ diu perduraverit aut prior extiterit, sed præterea necesse est quod sanam doctrinam semper et prius retinuerit. Hoc autem contra veteres hæreses, [et] maxime ipsis apostolis coetaneas,—notandum est." It is not a sufficient reason for a society of Christians to challenge to itself the note of Antiquity, because it hath long continued, and been before others in the profession of Christianity; but besides it is required, that it have anciently, and ever holden the doctrine of truth. This is specially to be noted against old heresies, whereof some began in the apostles' times. And he saith of the Churches of Greece, Æthiopia, and Armenia, that, though their antiquity did reach as high as the apostles' times, yet notwithstanding, "propter doctrinæ novitates postea invectas, veram antiquitatem non habent:" because they have brought in new doctrine, they have no true antiquity[2].

[1] Contr. 1. de Eccles. q. 4, art. 1, exposit. art. notabili 3. [p.75.]
[2] Ibidem in solutione argumentorum. [p. 77.]

CHAPTER VI.

OF SUCCESSION.

HITHERTO we have spoken of Antiquity, which they make the first note of the Church. It followeth in the next place that we speak of Succession. The ministry of pastors and teachers is absolutely and essentially necessary to the being of the Church. For how should there be a Church gathered, guided, and governed, without a ministry? Therefore the ministry of those whom God sanctified to Himself to teach, instruct, and govern His people, is an essential mark and note of the Church, as we have already shewed. Now, because the Church is not to last only for some short time, and so to cease, but to continue to the end of the world, this ministry must continue likewise; which because it cannot continue in the same persons (all being subject to death) it is necessary, that when some fail, others possess the places they formerly held, which is to succeed. Neither is this succeeding of one into the place of another, necessary, only by reason of that failing which is by death, but because the places of sacred ministry must not be unfurnished; if either the wickedness of them that are in place, cast them out, or their weakness cause a voluntary relinquishment of their office and standing, others must succeed. Lawful and holy ministry, therefore, is an inseparable and perpetual note of a true Church; for no Church can be without it; but Succession not so; for the Churches in the first establishment in the apostles' time, had it not; and many Churches which in sundry ages since have been founded, had none, their bishops being the first, and succeeding none in those episcopal chairs wherein they sat. If we, therefore, should cavil against them as they do against us, we might deny Succession to be a note of the Church, because there have been and may be true Churches without it; as all at the first in the beginning of Christianity, and all other since newly founded, in their first beginning. But because we know they make not succession of pastors and bishops a note of the Church absolutely considered, but of that which being formerly established, is still to be continued by multi-

tudes of men and people continually succeeding and coming into the places of others that went before them in the same profession of Christianity; let us see whether succession of bishops and pastors may truly be said to be a note of the Church.

Absolutely and without limitation, doubtless it is not. For there may be a continued succession of bishops where there is no true Church, as at this day amongst the Grecians, Armenians, and Æthiopians, which yet are not the true Churches of God, in the opinion of them that plead for succession. Bellarmine therefore saith, that Succession is inseparable, so that there can be no Church without it; but that it is not proper, so that wheresoever it is found, we may assure ourselves that there is the Church[1]; so forgetting himself, who requireth in the notes that they be proper, and rejecteth our note of purity of doctrine, free from pertinacious error, because it may be found among schismatics, though it be inseparable, and the true Church cannot be without it.

But Stapleton handleth this point of succession much better. For he saith, that succession is an inseparable and proper note of the true Church, but not every succession, but that which is true and lawful[2]. Let us, therefore, see what he requireth to make a true and lawful succession. First, there must be a place void by resignation, deprivation, or death. Secondly, they that succeed must have election, and ordination from them to whom it appertaineth to elect, and ordain[3]. Thirdly, they must not depart from the faith that

[1] Bellarmine, Controv. Tom. II. lib. 4, c. 8. "Habet quidem Ecclesia Constantinopolitana qualemcumque successionem a tempore Constantini [hucusque, non autem ab Apostolicis temporibus quod præcipue quæritur. Dico secundo] argumentum a successione adferri a nobis præcipue ad probandum non esse Ecclesiam ubi non est [hæc successio," &c.]

[2] ["Non enim quævis sed legitima et vera successio est Ecclesiæ nota. Est autem illorum pastorum legitima successio, qui cum suis antecessoribus a quibus ordinati sunt, unitatem tenent; et a fide, in qua ordinati sunt, postea non recedunt.—Successio igitur infallibilis est veritatis nota, quamdiu is, qui succedit, cum Ecclesiis antecedentibus et originalibus conspirat."] Contr. I. de Ecclesia in se. q. 4. art. 2, exposit. art. notabili 5. [p. 86.]

[3] Nazianzen in Laudem Athanasii. [p. 377. *οὐ γὰρ ὁ βιασάμενος ἀλλ' ὁ βιασθεὶς διάδοχος, οὐδ' ὁ παρανομήσας ἀλλ' ὁ προβληθεὶς ἐννόμως,*

was formerly holden by them that went before, unless any of them did first decline and go aside from the way of the first, and most ancient, that held those places before; and therefore in the catalogue of bishops succeeding one another in each several see, wheresoever any first began to teach any new and strange doctrine, different from that which was formerly delivered, the thread and line of succession was by him either wholly broken or somewhat endangered, according to the quality of the error, and the manner of defending and maintaining the same. So that this is all which Stapleton saith[1], that "wheresoever we find a Church once established under a lawful ministry in the undoubted profession of the truth, if afterwards there be a succession of pastors and bishops in the same place, and that none of them depart from the faith of the former, that so it may be evident, that what faith was first holden is still holden by them that presently are in place, there we may assure ourselves to find the true Church.

Thus still we see, that truth of doctrine is a necessary note whereby the Church must be known and discerned, and not ministry or succession, or anything else without it.

But, saith he, "the people must not judge, which is true doctrine and which is false, by the particular consideration of the things themselves, but only by the newness, strangeness, contrariety it hath with that which they have learned of their pastors, guides, and forefathers." He allowed, then, a kind of judgment to the vulgar sort, who must discern which is the true doctrine and which is the false, though not by particular consideration of the things themselves that are taught, yet by the newness and strangeness of them. Touching the judgment the people of God ought to have of the doctrine of Christianity, I will speak when I come to the fourth part of my first and general division. In the meanwhile it sufficeth, that not bare and naked succession, but true and lawful, wherein no new or strange doctrine is brought into the Church, but the ancient religiously preserved, is a mark, note, or character of the new Church.

οὐδὲ ὁ τἀναντία δοξάζων ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως. εἰ μὴ οὕτω τις λέγοι διάδοχον, οἷς πίστιν ὑγιείας, καὶ φωτὸς σπόρος, καὶ ζόφῳ γαλήνης καὶ συνέσεως ἔκστασιν.]

[1 Contr. 1. de Eccl. in se. q. 4. Art. 2. 5. Arg. p. 82.]

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE THIRD NOTE ASSIGNED BY THEM, WHICH IS UNITY.

THE third note of the Church assigned by them is Unity. There are many sorts and degrees of unity found in the Church. The first, in respect of the same beginning, and original cause, which is God that hath called us to the fellowship of his Son, and to the hope of eternal life. "No man cometh unto me unless my Father draw him." (John vi. 44.) The second in respect of the same last end, whereunto all they that are of the Church do tend, signified by that "penny given to every one of the labourers." (Matt. xx. 8, 9, 10.) The third is in respect of the same means of salvation as are faith, sacraments, holy laws and precepts, according to that (Ephes. iv. 5) "one faith, one baptism, &c." The fourth, in respect of the same spirit which doth animate the whole body of the Church: "There are diversities of graces, but the same spirit." (1 Cor. xii. 4.) The fifth, in respect of the same head, Christ, and guides appointed by him, who, though they are many, yet are all holden in a sweet coherence and connexion amongst themselves, as if there were but one episcopal chair and office in the world; which unity of pastors and bishops, though they be many and joined in equal commission, without dependence one from another, Christ signified, by directing His words especially to Peter: "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs," as Cyprian most aptly noteth[1]. The sixth is in respect of the connexion which all they of the Church have amongst themselves and with Christ,

[1] De unitate Ecclesiæ. ["Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat; *sicut misit* ME *Pater, et Ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum; si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi; si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur;* tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi Ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur. Et pastores sunt omnes, et grex unus ostenditur." pp. 388, 9, Ed. Paris. 1841. See "James' Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers," pp. 75—104. Ed. Lond. 1840, upon the corruption of this passage.]

and those whom He hath appointed in His stead to take care of their souls. "We are one body and members one of another." (Rom. xii. 5.) These being the divers kinds, and sorts of unity in the Church, let us see what unity it is, which they make a note of the Church. The unity which they make a note of the Church, is first, in respect of the rule of faith and use of the sacraments of salvation; secondly, in respect of the coherence and connexion of the pastors and bishops amongst themselves; thirdly, in the due and submissive obedience of the people to their pastors.

This is it then which they say, that "wheresoever any company and society of Christians is found in orderly subjection to their lawful pastors, not erring from the rule of faith, nor schismatically rent from the other parts of the Christian world by factious, causeless, and impious division, that society of men is, undoubtedly, the true and not offending Church of God." This note thus delivered, is the very same with those assigned by us. But if any of them shall imagine that any unity, and agreement whatsoever of Christian people amongst themselves, doth prove them to be the Church of God, we utterly deny it. For the Armenians, Æthiopians, and Christians of Muscovia and Russia, have every of them an agreement amongst themselves, though divided each from other, more perfect than they of the Church of Rome have; which yet, in the judgment of the Romanists, are not the true Churches of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF UNIVERSALITY.

THE next note assigned by them is Universality. Concerning universality, Bellarmine observeth three things[1]: "First, that to the universality of the Church, is required, that it exclude no times, places, nor sorts of men; in which consideration the Christian Church differeth from the Synagogue, which was a particular Church tied to one time, being to continue but to the coming of Christ; to a certain place,

[1] Controv. Tom. II. lib. iv. 7.

to wit, the temple of Jerusalem, out of which they could not sacrifice; and to one family, the sons of Jacob." Secondly, he noteth out of Augustine, "that to the universality of the Christian Church it is not required that all the men of the world should be of the Church, but that at the least there should be some in all provinces of the world that should give their names to Christ[1]." "For till this be performed, the day of the Lord shall not come." (Matt. xxiv. 14.) Thirdly, he noteth out of Driedo, in his fourth book *de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, "that it is not required that this should be all at once, so that at one time necessarily there must be some Christians in all places of the world. For it is enough if it be successively[2]." "Whence," saith he[3], "it followeth, that though but only one province of the world should retain the true faith, it might truly and properly be named the Catholic Church, if it could clearly demonstrate itself to be one with the Church and company of believers; which if not at one time, yet at divers times hath filled the whole world. This it cannot demonstrate, but by making it appear that it hath neither brought in any new and strange doctrine in matter of faith, nor schismatically rent itself from the rest of the Christian world[4]."

This note of Universality thus understood, we willingly admit: for it is the same with those we assign. For we say, what Church soever can prove itself to hold the faith once delivered to the saints, and generally published to the world without heretical innovation, or schismatical violation and breach of the peace, and unity of the Christian world, is undoubtedly the true Church of God. But out of this which

[1] [Epist. ad Hesychium; lxxx.: "In quibus ergo gentibus nondum est Ecclesia, oportet ut sit, non ut omnes qui ibi fuerint credant; omnes enim gentes promissæ sunt, non omnes homines omnium gentium." § 48.]

[2] ["Neque Salvator in Evangelio, neque Scriptura aliqua, neque Augustinus ex doctrina Scripturæ docet Ecclesiam indies super hanc terram magis ac magis dilatari, usque in consummationem seculi.—Non oportet quod pro aliquo seculo prædicatur Evangelium in omnibus gentibus, sed satis est quod paulatim dilatetur, donec verificatum fuerit in omnibus gentibus prædicatum esse Evangelium." Lib. iv. 2. 2.]

[3] [Bellarmine ib. "Ex quo id sequitur, quod si sola una provincia retineret veram fidem adhuc vere et proprie diceretur Ecclesia Catholica, dummodo clare ostenderetur eam esse unam et eandem cum illa quæ fuit aliquo tempore vel diversis in toto mundo."]

[4] See Jackson's Works, Vol. III. p. 821.

Bellarmine hath thus truly, wisely, and fitly observed touching Universality, we deduce many corollaries of great consequence in this controversy touching the Church.

The first, that it may be the true and Catholic Church, which neither presently is, nor ever hereafter shall be, in all or the most parts of the world, if it can continuate itself, and prove itself one with that Church which formerly at some time or times hath been in the most parts thereof. From whence it is easy to discern the vanity of that their silly objection against us, who say our Church began not at Jerusalem in the feast of Pentecost, but at Wittemberg or Geneva, in this last age of the world; and that it is not likely, beginning so late, that ever it will so far enlarge itself as to fill all the whole world, and so become Catholic or Universal. For we do not imagine that the Church began at Wittemberg or Geneva, but that in these and sundry other places of the Christian world, it pleased God to use the ministry of his worthy servants for the necessary reformation of abuses in some parts of that Catholic Church, which, beginning at Jerusalem, spread itself into all the world, though not at all times, nor all places in like degree of purity and sincerity. So that, though the Reformed Churches neither presently be, nor perhaps hereafter shall be, in all or the most part of the world, yet are they Catholic, for that they do continuate themselves with that Church, which hath been, is, or shall be, in all places of the world before the coming of Christ, and undoubtedly already hath been in the most part thereof. The second, that the true Church is not necessarily always of greater extent, nor the multitude of them that are of it greater than of any one company of heretics or misbelievers. The third, that the true Church cannot be at all times infallibly known from the factions of heretics, by multitude and largeness of extent. The fourth, that this contrarieth not the saying of Augustine and others of the fathers, who urge the ample extent of the Church as a proof of the truth thereof. For that they lived and wrote in those times, when the Church was in her growth, and we are fallen into the last and worst times wherein she is in her declining[1].

[1] Aug. Psal. 101, conc. 2. reprehendit Donatistas dicentes Ecclesiam in sola Africa remansisse, hunc locum Augustini explicat Bellarminus loco superius notato.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE NAME AND TITLE OF CATHOLIC.

THE fifth note assigned by them is the name and title of Catholic; which they say is an undoubted proof of the true Catholic Church wheresoever it is found[1]. And because our adversaries do not more insolently boast and glory of anything than of the bare and empty name and title of Catholic; I will therefore make it evident to all them that know their right hand from their left, that howsoever it was in the days of the fathers, it is not now proper to the true Church, but common to schismatics and heretics; and therefore that it cannot now serve as a mark or note distinctive, whereby the true Church may be known from misbelievers. This, therefore, is to be reckoned amongst those things that are proper and peculiar to the true Church, but not perpetually proper; and so amongst those notes that may difference the true Church from the false at some times and not at others.

The title of Catholic doth most fitly express those, both Christian men and societies of Christians which hold the common faith without particular divisions from the main body of Christianity. While, therefore, there was but the main body of Christianity at unity within itself and such portions of seduced and misled people as apparently divided themselves from it, the name of a Catholic was a note and dictinctive mark or character to know and discern a Catholic from an heretic, or schismatic by, and the naming after the name of any man a note of particularity, and heretical or schismatical faction. Whereupon[2] one of the ancients said fitly to this

[1] Bellarmine, Controv. Tom. II. lib. iv. 4. ["Prima nota est ipsum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ et Christianorum nomen: nam ut S. Augustinus docet libro contra epist. Fundamenti, c. 4. etiamsi omnis hæresis velit videri et dici Catholica Ecclesia, tamen cum interrogantur hæretici a Paganis, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nemo audet domum suam ostendere."]

[2] Pacianus in epist. ad Sempronianum, citatus a Bellarmino, loco superius notato. ["Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus vero cognomen; illud me, nuncupat, istud ostendit; hoc probor, inde significor." Bib. Patr. Tom. IV. p. 236.]

purpose, "Christian is my name, and Catholic is my surname; by the one I am known from infidels, by the other from heretics and schismatics." But when the main body of the Christian Church divided itself, partly by reason of different ceremonies, uses, customs, and observations; partly through the ambitious strivings of the bishops and prelates of the greatest, richest, and most respected places; partly by occasion of some different opinions; the name of Catholic remained common to either of the parts thus divided, sundered, and rent one from another, though on the one side rested not only error, but heresy also in the opinion of the other. For who knoweth not that the Christians of the Greek and Oriental Church are and have been as generally named Catholics, as the friends and followers of the Western or Latin Church? Neither have they any name or note of faction as all ancient heretics had; but as in former times before this schism began, for distinction sake, the whole Christian Church was divided into two moieties, the one called the Occidental or Latin, and the other the Oriental or Greek Church; so are they by the same notes of difference, and no other, known at this day. Yet are the Grecians, Armenians, Æthiopians, and other in the east parts of the world, in the judgment of the Romanists, not only schismatics but heretics also.

It was, therefore, more than ordinary impudency in Bellarmine to affirm, that the name of a Catholic is a note of true Catholic profession, when he knew it to be common to such as himself pronounced heretics. And it is yet more intolerable that he saith, "there is no heresy which receiveth not her name from some particular man, the author and beginner of it:" and that whosoever are named after the names of men are undoubtedly heretics. For of what man had the Apostolici their name, whose author and first beginner was never known, (as Bernard saith[1]), that we might assure ourselves the devil was author of that damnable sect? and who dare pronounce all the Thomists, Scotists, Benedictines, and the like, to be heretics? That we may therefore make his

[1] "Ceteræ hujusmodi pestes, singulæ singulos migistros, homines habuisse noscuntur, a quibus originem simul duxere et nomen. Quo nomine istos titulove censebis? Nullo: quoniam non est ab homine illorum hæresis," &c. Bernardus in Cant. ser. 66: [§ 2.]

folly to appear in that he saith concerning heretics, and the naming after the names of men as we did in the former part, touching the name and title of Catholic, we must observe, that heretics sometimes have their names from the matter wherein they err, as the Monothelites in old time and the Anabaptists in ours; the first affirming that there is but one will in Christ, whence they were named Monothelites; the other urging rebaptization of such as are baptized by heretics, whence they are named Anabaptists, that is, rebaptizers; sometimes of that they arrogantly challenge to themselves and make pretence of[1], as the Apostolici, for that they challenged themselves more than ordinary perfection, as equalling the apostles, or coming nearer to their examples and precedents than other men; sometimes of the place where they began and most prevailed, as the Cataphryges; sometimes of the first author of their heresy, as Marcionites, Donatists, and the like. Thus, then, we see all heretics have not their names from men.

But they will say they were all heretics that were named after the names of men. Surely is it not to be denied but that the naming after the names of men was in the time of the primitive Church peculiar and proper to heretics and schismatics only.

Neither were there any Christians in the first ages of the Church called after the names of men but such as followed wicked seducers in schism or heresy; whereupon it was a sure rule in ancient times, that whosoever professing themselves Christians, were named after the names of men (as Novatians, of Novatus, Pelagians, of Pelagius), they were to be holden for heretics. This rule is delivered by Hierom against the Luciferians, *Sicubi*, &c.[2]: "If anywhere thou find men professing Christianity, called after the particular names of men, know them to be the synagogue of Antichrist, and not the Church of Christ." But as the honourable title of Catholic,

[1] "Nempe jactant se esse successores apostolorum, et apostolicos nominant, nullum tamen apostolatus sui signum valentes ostendere." Bernard. ib. [§ 8.]

[2] Contra Luciferianos prope finem. [Op. Tom. IV. p. 306. "Sicubi audieris eos, qui dicuntur Christi, non a Domino Jesu Christo, sed a quoquam alio nuncupari, ut puta Marcionitas, &c., scito non Ecclesiam Christi, sed Antichristi esse synagogam."]

sometimes a note of the true and orthodox Church, is now ceased to be so; in like sort the naming after the names of men, sometimes a note of heresy, is now ceased to be so; which to be most true, sundry, manifold, and divers names of Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, Augustinians, Thomists, Scotists, and the like, do make it most apparent. And besides this, there are at this day innumerable Christians in the east parts of the world that are[1] called Nestorians, that hold not the heresy of Nestorius, nor any other special heresy, whence they might have any such name of division, faction, or particularity.

For the better clearing of whatsoever may seem doubtful in this matter of names, titles, and appellations, we must observe, that they, which profess the faith of Christ, have been sometimes in these later ages of the Church, called after the special names of such men, as were the authors, devisers, and beginners of such courses of monastical profession, as they made choice of to follow, as Benedictines and the like; sometimes of such principal men, whose judgment and opinion they embraced, and followed in sundry matters of great moment in the controversies of religion, not yet determined by consent of the whole universal Church; and so in our times amongst the school divines, some following Thomas, and others Scotus, and many and sundry main contradictory opinions, some were named Thomists, others Scotists; sometimes of such men whose new, strange, and private opinions contrary to the Church's faith, they pertinaciously embraced and followed, as Arians of Arius, Eutychians of Eutyches: yea, sometimes of some arch-heretics, whose opinions and heresies they hold not, as at this day the greater part of Christians that are in Assyria, Persia, and the rest of the eastern provinces, are called Nestorians by all other Christians in those parts, as the Jacobites, Maronites, Cophti, and the like; yet do they hold nothing that savoureth of Nestorius' heresy, as Onuphrius reporteth in the life of Julius the Third, in whose time sundry of them came to Rome[2].

These in likelihood are called Nestorians, for that in former times the heresy of Nestorius prevailed much in those parts of the world, which now being clearly banished, the

[1] Onuph. in suppl. Platinæ in vita Julii III. [p. 317. Ed. 1572.]

[2] Onuphrius in vita Julii III. [ibid.]

right believing Christians of those parts are still, notwithstanding called by that odious and hateful name, or else it is by wrong and unjust imputation, as the Armenians are judged by many to be Eutychians, for that they receive not the council of Chalcedon[1], which they refused to subscribe unto, upon a false suggestion and apprehension, that in it the heresy of Nestorius condemned in the council of Ephesus, was revived again; sometimes of such as collected, gathered, and brought into a certain order, for the better direction of God's people in his service, the prayers of the Church, and forms of administering the sacraments and other holy things, or else augmented, altered, or reformed those that were before; so when there grew a division among the Churches of this part of the world, some following the form of divine administration left by Ambrose, others embracing that prescribed by Gregory, some were called[2] Ambrosian, and some Gregorian Churches: as likewise in our times, when Luther, Calvin, and other worthy servants of God, had persuaded some states of Christendom to reform, correct, and alter some things that were amiss, and to remove and take away sundry barbarisms, errors and superstitions crept into the prayers of the Church, with many gross abuses and grievous abominations formerly tolerated in the midst of the Church of God; those states, people and Churches which reformed themselves, abandoning superstition and error, were by some called reformed Churches, by other Lutheran Churches. Neither was it possible that so great an alteration as the corrupt state of the Church required, should be effected, and not carry some remembrance of them by whom it was procured. We see the sincerity of our Christian profession concerning the Son of God, (whom we acknowledge coessential, coequal and coeternal with the Father,) cleared and published in the Nicene Council, was ever after, for distinction from the manifold turnings and windings of

[1] In Concilio Florentino in decreto Eugenii IV. [See Harduin. Concil. IX. p. 437.]

[2] "In Ecclesia Gregoriana est hæc forma: 'Per istam sanctam unctionem,' &c.; in Ambrosiana est hæc: 'Ungo te,' &c." Bonavent. lib. iv. dist. XXIII. q. IV. Cassander in præfat. ad Ord. Rom. [Op. p. 92. ed. 1616.] Petrus Voraginensis in legenda Gregorii I. [c. 46.]

heretics, endeavouring to obscure, corrupt, alter, and adulterate the same, called the Nicene faith.

That the Church needed reformation when Luther began, and that it was not necessary, nor behoveful to expect the consent of the whole Christian world in a general council, I will make it evident when I come to the third part of my general division. In the meanwhile, it is most clear and evident that the naming after the names of men is now no certain note of heresy or schism. For if the naming after the names of men were a certain note of heresy or schism, then should all orders of monks and friars that are named after the names of their first authors, be proved heretics: yea, the followers of Thomas, and Scotus, should be convinced of heresy: and all the Christians that are named Nestorians should be found heretics, which they which know them best do deny; yea, then all the Ambrosian and Gregorian Churches must be charged with heresy and schism.

THE THIRD BOOK

OF

THE TRUE CHURCH

DEMONSTRATED BY THE NOTES BEFORE AGREED UPON.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD INTO THE WESTERN OR LATIN CHURCH, AND THE ORIENTAL OR EAST CHURCH.

THUS then, having sufficiently examined those things which concern the notes of the Church, so that it is evident to all not wilfully contentious, which are the true notes whereby the Church may be known; it remaineth, that by application of them, we seek out, which among so many diversities and contrarieties in matters of religion as are at this day found in the world, is the true and orthodox Church of God. And because our controversies are not with Jews, nor Pagan infidels, as in the times of the Fathers, but with such as together with us profess themselves Christians, letting pass all those notes which serve to prove the truth of Christian profession in general, against heathenish and Jewish errors, let us come to take a view of the diversities that are found among Christians, and by the direction of the notes agreed upon, see which is the true Church of God.

The Christian Church is divided at this day into the Western or Latin Church, and the Oriental or East Church. The Oriental or East Church is divided into the Greek Church, the Nestorian or Assyrian Churches, and the Churches of the supposed Monophysites, as the Jacobites, Armenians, Cophti or Christians of Egypt; the Ethiopians or Abyssenes, and the Maronites, who are thought to be Monothelites.

The Christians that are of the Greek religion are of two sorts. First, such as presently are, or lately were, subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople; secondly, such as never were under that jurisdiction, and yet are of the same communion: as the Melchites of Syria, and the Georgians. Of the first sort are all the Christians of Natolia, except Armenia the lesser and Cilicia; the Christians of Circassia and Mingrelia, and Russia; in Europe, the

Christians of Greece, Macedon, Epirus, Thrace, Bulgaria, Rascia, Servia, Bosnia, Walachia, Moldavia, Podolia and Moscovia, together with all the islands of the Ægean sea, as far as Corfu, besides a great part of the king of Polonin's dominions, and those parts of Dalmatia and Croatia that are under the Turk. The reason of this large extent of the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople was; first, the decree of the Council of Chalcedon, subjecting unto him all Thracia and Anatolia except Isauria and Cilicia, belonging to Antioch, twenty-eight Roman provinces. Secondly, the voluntary submission of the Grecians upon the separation of the Churches. For thereby not only Greece, Macedon, Epirus, Candia, and the isles about Greece, in all about seven provinces, came under him, but Sicily also, and Calabria, fell from Rome, and for a long time were subject to the jurisdiction of Constantinople. Whereupon in Curopolates[1] the metropolitans of Syracusa and Catana in Sicilia, of Rhegium, Severiana, Rosia, and Hydruntum in Calabria, are registered amongst the metropolitans of that jurisdiction. Thirdly, the conversion of sundry nations and people to the Christian faith by his suffragans and ministers, wrought a great enlargement of his jurisdiction. "The first of the Sclavons, saith Cromerus[2], that were converted to the faith, were those of Bulgaria, who became Christian [in] the year 860, in the time of Nicholas the First." About these there was much contention a long time between Rome and Constantinople, either of them claiming jurisdiction over them as having won them to the true knowledge and worship of God. But in the end the Grecians prevailed, and they were wholly put under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. Some thirty years after these, they of Rascia, Servia, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Illyricum, received the Christian faith from their neighbours the Grecians and Italians, in the time of the reign of Suatoplugus amongst the Moravians, who gave his name to Christ, and was the means of the conversion of Borivoius, duke of the Bohemians, about the year 900[3]. Not long after the conversion of the Bohemians, about 980 years after Christ, in the time of the reign of Basilius and

[1] [G. Codinus de Officiis Constantinopolitanis,] prope finem, p. 117, sq.

[2] [De rebus Polonorum.] Lib. III. p. 31. [3] [Cromerus, ib.]

Constantine, emperors of Constantinople, the Russes began publicly to profess the Christian faith, Volodomirus, their prince, having married the emperor's sister, and received teachers from the patriarch of Constantinople. This prince, after he became a Christian, placed a metropolitan at Kiovia, an archbishop at Novograde, and in other cities of bishops consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Since which time the Russians adhere most constantly to the Greek religion and rites. After this the Polonians possessed themselves of sundry parts of Russia; but the Russians, not long enduring that subjection, cast off the yoke and became free again, yet continued not long so: for within a short time after, Russia in a great part became subject to the Lithuanians, partly by conquest, and partly by marriages, and from them was passed over again to the Polonians. For Ludovicus, king of Hungary and Poland, had two daughters, of which the younger, named Heduigis, succeeded him in the kingdom of Polonia, who was married to Jagello, prince of Lithuania; and thereby all Lithuania, and that part of Russia also that was subject to Lithuania, was joined to the kingdom of Polonia for ever[1]. But the histories report that while the Russes were divided into many principalities, which fell out immediately after the death of Volodomirus, one John the son of Daniel, a prince amongst them, taking a good liking of the river and tower of Moscow, repaired the tower, before mean and base, and made it the seat of his principality. So that the Russes subject to him were named Moscovites, from the river and town of Moscow[2]. And when, long after, they of the posterity of John having joined unto them, partly by marriages, partly by fraud, partly by force, such people of that nation and language as lay near unto them, formerly weakened by the incursions of the Tartars and others, and so enlarged their principality; all such Russes as were joined to that empire, though much more noble and mighty than the Moscovites, were content to be named Moscovites, and yet still retained the name of Russes also, as the Podolians are Russes, and yet have a peculiar name[3]. These Moscovites by conquest obtained Novograde, and after that, those Russes that were called

[1] [Cromerus, ib. p. 238.] [2] [Cromerus, ib. p. 9.]
[3] [Cromerus, ib.]

Severianenses fell from the subjection of the Lithuanians to the Moscovites, either moved so to do by the injuries they had received from them as they pretended, or rather by reason of the difference in religion between them and the good correspondence they held with the Moscovites in this respect; so that the principality of Moscow grew to be exceeding great. The duke of Moscow growing thus great, obtained of the patriarch of Constantinople to have a metropolitan of Moscow, who was named metropolitan of Russia, both by the patriarch and others, as well as the bishop of Kiovia, who was long before so named, and continueth yet still so to be. In that part of Russia that is subject to the king of Polonia there are seven bishoprics, whereof the bishop of Kiovia is the metropolitan: in the other, which is subject to the great duke of Moscow, there are eleven bishoprics; whereof the bishop of Moscow is the metropolitan, the bishop of Novograde and Rascavium are archbishops, the rest ordinary bishops. All these, as being at the first consecrated and placed by the patriarch of Constantinople, were under his jurisdiction. Fourthly, the Turk's conquests have been an occasion of the enlargement of the Constantinopolitan jurisdiction; for when sundry parts of the Christian world, formerly subject to Rome, were brought under the bondage of the Turks, the bishops and pastors, like hirelings, forsook their flocks, over which the patriarch of Constantinople, pitying their case, placed bishops and pastors of the Greek religion, who, by little and little, won them to the liking of the same. Thus we see how far the Constantinopolitan jurisdiction spreads itself; so that I think it will be found that the number of Christians under that bishop, with the Melchites and Georgians that are joined in communion with him, though never under his jurisdiction, doth far exceed them of the Roman communion, unless they draw in their new converts in the Indies to fill up the number[1].

The division and separation between the Greek and Latin Churches grew out of the ambitious contentions of the bishop of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople in this sort. In the time of the Nicene Council, and before, as appeareth by the acts of the council limiting their bounds, there were three

[1] Annotatio Onuphrii in vit. Bonifacii, apud Platinam. [p. 67. ed. Lovan. 1572.]

principal bishops or patriarchs of the Christian Church; namely, the bishop of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch[1]. After which time Constantinople, before named Byzantium, made great by Constantine, and being the seat of the emperors, the bishop of this see not only obtained to have the dignity of a patriarch among the rest, but in the second general council, holden at Constantinople, was preferred before both the other of Alexandria and Antioch, and set in degree of honour next unto the bishop of Rome[2]. In the great Council of Chalcedon he was made equal with him, and to have all equal rights, privileges, and prerogatives, because he was bishop of new Rome, as the other of old[3]. But not long contenting himself with this equality, the magnificence and glory of his city daily increasing, making him proud and insolent, he challenged to be superior, and would be named universal bishop, not challenging to himself to be bishop alone, but encroaching upon the right of all other, and thereby declaring himself

[1] Nicen. Concil. can. vi. [*τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.* See also Hammond's Works ("Answer to Schism Disarmed,") Vol. II. ch. iv. § 4. sq.

[2] Sub Theodosio seniore [Synod. Constant. I.] can. 3. and Socrates Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 8.

[3] Actio xv. can. 28, in Græcis codicibus. ["Sanctorum Patrum decreta ubique sequentes, et canonem qui nuper lectus est, centum et quinquaginta Dei amantissimorum episcoporum agnoscentes, eadem quoque et nos decernimus ac statuimus de privilegiis sanctissimæ Ecclesiæ Constantinopolis, novæ Romæ. Etenim antiquæ Romæ throno quod urbs illa imperaret, jure patres privilegia tribuerunt. Et eadem consideratione moti centum quinquaginta Dei amantissimi episcopi, sanctissimo novæ Romæ throno æqualia privilegia tribuerunt, recte judicantes urbem quæ et imperio et senatu honorata sit, et æqualibus cum antiquissima regina Roma privilegiis fruatur etiam in rebus ecclesiasticis, non secus ac illam, extolli ac magnifieri, secundam post illam existentem: et ut Ponticæ et Asianæ et Thraciæ diœceseos metropolitani soli, præterea episcopi prædictarum diœcesum quæ sunt inter barbaros, a prædicto throno sanctissimæ Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ ordinentur; unoquoque scilicet prædictarum diœcesum metropolitano cum provinciæ episcopis, provinciæ episcopos ordinante, quemadmodum divinis canonibus est traditum; ordinari autem, sicut dictum est, prædictarum diœcesum metropolitanos a Constantinopolitano archiepiscopo, convenientibus de more factis electionibus et ad ipsum relatis." Ex cod. Gent. Hervet. Harduin. Concil. II. 614.]

greater and more honourable than any of the rest, and the chief bishop of the whole world, because his city was the chief city of the world[1]. About this was the contention between Gregory the First and John of Constantinople[2], which, not being ended in the days of Gregory, because the emperor Mauritius was averse from him, favouring the claim of his adversary, Bonifacius[3] obtained of Phocas to have the matter in such sort concluded between them, that the bishop of Rome should have the first and chief place in the Church of God, and the patriarch of Constantinople the second: which conclusion was not of such force but that the succeeding bishops of Constantinople continued the same challenge their predecessors made; and as any opportunity was offered, sought to advance their pretended title, till at length, there growing some difference between them in the matter of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, whom the Latins affirmed to proceed from the Father and the Son, the Greeks from the Father only, either pronounced the other to be heretics and schismatics.

Wherefore let us see what the religion of the Greek Church is, and whether these Christians be so far forth orthodox, that we may account them members of the true Catholic Church of God, or so in error that we may reject them as schismatics and heretics, though in number never so many. Bernard, speaking of them, saith, "Nobiscum sunt et non sunt, juncti fide, pace divisi; quanquam et in fide ipsa claudicaverint a semitis rectis:" that is, "they are with us and they are not with us; they are of the same profession with us touching matters of faith, but they hold not the unity of the Spirit in the band of peace[4];" although they have halted also, and in some sort declined from the straight paths, in matters pertaining to the Christian faith.

[1] Cæterarum sedium privilegia, et earundem episcoporum consecrationem ad se unum revocare, eosque in ordinem cogere, et sibi subdere conatus est. [It is uncertain whether this passage is quoted by the author or not.]

"Post consecrationem Antiocheni episcopi quam tibimet contra canonicam regulam vindicasti," etc. Leo Epist. liii. [lxxx. § 2.]

[2] Greg. Epist. iv. cap. 36. 38, 39; vi. 168, 169.

[3] Beda, in lib. de temporum ratione. Platina in vita Bonifacii III. [p. 66.]

[4] De consid. ad Eugenium, lib. III. [cap. 1.]

Touching the state of these Christians, the Romanists lay down these propositions. First, that there is a double separation from the Church of God, the one by heresy overthrowing the faith, the other by schism breaking the unity. The second, that schismatics, though they fall not into heresy, are out of the Church, cut off from being members of the same, and consequently in state of damnation. "Believe certainly, and no way doubt," saith St Augustine, "that not only all pagans, but all Jews, heretics and schismatics also, dying out of the communion of the Catholic Church, shall go into everlasting fire[1]." The third, that the Grecians are schismatically divided from the Roman Church, that they have long continued so, that they are excommunicate with the greater excommunication thundered out against all schismatics in *Bulla cœnæ Domini*, and consequently are in state of damnation. But whether they be not only schismatics but heretics also, as some fear not to pronounce, they are not yet agreed[2]. Azorius thinketh they are not to be censured as heretics, and yieldeth a reason of his so thinking[3]; because in those articles of the faith where they are thought to err, they differ verbally only, and not really from those that are undoubtedly right believers: and giveth instance, first in the question touching the

[1] De fide ad Petrum, c. 38. [Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites non solum omnes paganos, sed et omnes Judæos, et omnes hæreticos atque schismaticos, qui extra Ecclesiam catholicam præsentem finiunt vitam in ignem æternum ituros qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus." Fulgentius is supposed by the Benedictine editors and others to be the author of this treatise. See Coci Censura quorund. Script. pp. 341, 2. ed. Helmes. 1683. Riveti Crit. Sacr. p. 389. ed. Genev. 1626.]

[2] Tho. a Jesu, l. vi. c. 8, [p. 281. ed. Antvp. 1613.]

[3] Institut. moral. l. viii. c. 20, q. 10. ["Alii vero opinantur eos solum esse schismaticos qui a Romani Pontificis jurisdictione et potestate se subtrahunt; hæreticos non item quoniam in prædictis fidei articulis potius nomine quam re a Romanæ Ecclesiæ sensu dissentiunt—"Et ideo, ad hoc significandum Græci dicunt: 'Spiritum Sanctum a Patre per Filium procedere ab omni æternitate.—Nec diffitentur omnino Romanum Pontificem Petri successorem in Ecclesia primatum a Christo Domino accepisse. Sed nihilominus profitentur totam Ecclesiam cum in generalem est synodum coacta majorem potestatem habere in rebus fidei et cæteris, quæ ad generalem Ecclesiæ statum pertinent, definiendis; quæ fuit etiam sententia Gersonis et Parisiensium theologorum nondum ab Ecclesia tanquam hæretici generali decreto damnati."]

proceeding of the Holy Ghost, wherein he thinketh they differ but in form of words from them that seem to be their opposites: and secondly, in the questions touching the Pope, his power, privileges, and authority, concerning all which he affirmeth, they have no other opinion than Gerson and the Parisians, who were never yet pronounced heretics, for they yield a primacy to the bishop of Rome, but no supremacy. They acknowledge him to be patriarch of the West, amongst all the patriarchs in order and honour the first, as long as he continueth orthodox, and seeketh not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of others. But they deny, as also the Parisians do, that his judgment is infallible, or his power and authority supreme and absolute: they teach that he must do nothing of himself in things pertaining to the state of the universal Church, but with the concurrence of others his colleagues, and that he is subject to a general council. All which things were defined in the Councils of Constance and Basil, and the contrary positions condemned as heretical. Neither want there at this day many worthy divines living in the communion of the Roman Church, who most strongly adhere to the decrees of those Councils, and peremptorily reject those of Florence and Trent, wherein the contrary faction prevailed. For the whole kingdom and state of France admit those and reject the other, and would no less withdraw themselves from all communion with the Roman bishop than the Grecians do, if they should once be pressed to acknowledge that his power and authority is supreme and absolute, that he cannot err, and that he may dispose the kingdoms, and depose the kings and sovereign princes of the world, as the Jesuits and other the Pope's flatterers affirm and defend. Whence it will follow that they are not only free from heresy, as Azorius resolveth, but from schism also. So that after so great clamours and so long contendings, they must of necessity be forced in the end to confess they have done them infinite wrong, and sinned grievously against God, in condemning to hell for no cause so many millions of Christian souls, redeemed with the most precious blood of his dearest Son. "There are," saith Andreas Fricius[1], "who think that the Russians, Armenians, and other Christians of the East part, pertain not to the Christian Church; but seeing they use the

[1] De Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 2.

same sacraments which we do, seeing they profess to fight under the banner of Christ crucified, and rejoice in their sufferings for his sake, far be it from us ever to think that they should be cast off and rejected from being fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, having borne the burthen and endured the heat of the day, so many ages in the vineyard of the Lord. Nay, rather, I think, there can be no perfect consociation and union of the whole Church without them. For the Latin Church alone cannot be taken for the universal Church: that which is but a part cannot be the whole."

But some man happily will say, whatsoever we think of these differences touching the power and authority of the bishop of Rome, yet in the article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost they err damnably, and so are heretics, and that Azorius was deceived when he thought otherwise. Wherefore for the clearing of this point, first I will make it evident, that not only Azorius, but sundry other great and worthy divines, think the difference about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost to be merely verbal. Secondly, I will show how the seeming differences touching this point may be reconciled. Thirdly, I will note the beginnings and proceedings in this controversy.

The Grecians, saith Peter Lombard[1], affirm that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father only, and not from the Son; yet we must know that the Greeks do acknowledge the Holy Ghost to be the Spirit of the Son as well as of the Father, because the apostle saith, "the Spirit of the Son;" and Truth itself, in the gospel, "the Spirit of truth[2]." Now seeing it is no other thing to be the Spirit of the Father and the Son, than to be from the Father and the Son, they seem to agree with us in judgment touching this article of faith, though they differ in words. Grosthed[3], the famous and

[1] Lib. I. d. 11. ["Græci tamen dicunt Spiritum Sanctum procedere tantum a Patre et non a Filio.—Sciendum est tamen quod Græci confitentur Spiritum Sanctum esse Filii sicut et Patris; quia et Apostolus dicit *Spiritum Filii:* et veritas in evangelio, *Spiritum veritatis.*"]

[2] Galat. iv. [6]. [John xvi. 13.]

[3] In notula quadam super finem epistolæ de trisagio, apud Scotum, lib. I. d. 11, q. 1. ["Sententia Græcorum est quod Spiritus Sanctus

renowned Bishop of Lincoln, writing upon a part of Damascene, delivereth his opinion touching this controversy, in these words: "The Grecians are of opinion that the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of the Son, but that He proceedeth not from the Son, but from the Father only, yet by the Son; and this opinion seemeth to be contrary to ours: for we say the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son. But haply, if two wise and understanding men, the one of the Greek Church, the other of the Latin, both true lovers of the truth, and not of their own sayings, because they are their own, might meet to consider of this seeming contrariety, it would, in the end, appear, that this difference in deed and in truth is not real, but verbal only. For otherwise, either the Grecians, or we that are of the Latin Church, are truly heretics. But who dares charge this author (John Damascene), or those blessed ones, Basil, Gregory the divine, or Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, and other Greek fathers of like esteem, with heresy? And again, on the other side, who dares brand blessed Hierome, Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, and other like Latin fathers, with the note of heresy? Therefore, it is likely, that though there be contrariety in the words of these fathers, so that they seem to be contrary to one another, yet in judgment and meaning they agree." Stanislaus Orichovius, as Andreas Fricius reporteth[1], a man renowned for wit, eloquence, and profound science in divers

est Spiritus Filii, sed non procedens a Filio, sed a solo Patre, per Filium tamen; et videtur hæc sententia contraria nostræ, quia dicimus Spiritum Sanctum a Patre et Filio procedentem. Sed forte si duo sapientes, unus Græcus et alter Latinus, uterque verus amator veritatis et non propriæ dictionis, unde propria est, de hoc visa contrarietate disquirerent, pateret utique tandem ipsam contrarietatem, non esse veraciter realem sicut est vocalis; alioquin vel ipsi Græci, vel nos Latini sumus vere hæretici. Sed quis audet hunc auctorem, Joannem, sc. Damascenum, et beatos, sc. Basilium, Gregorium Theologum, Gregorium Nazianzenum, Cyrillum, et similes Patres Græcos arguere hæreseos? Quis iterum argueret hæreseos B. Hieronymum, Augustinum, et Ambrosium, Hilarium et consimiles Latinos? Verisimile igitur est quod non subest dictis verbis contrariis contrariorum Sanctorum sententia discors: multipliciter enim dicitur, sicut, hoc hujus, sic hoc ex illo, vel ab illo; qua multiplicitate forte intellecta et distincta pateret contrariorum verborum non discors sententia."]

[1] De Ecclesia, l. IV. c. 2.

kinds, hath written of the opinion of the Russians; and in an epistle to Peter Gamrat, an archbishop in Polonia, he sheweth how the differences touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, where they seem especially to be contrary to us, may be agreed and composed. Thomas a Jesu[1] resolveth clearly, that this question touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost is only *de modo loquendi*, and that the difference is not real, which he sheweth to be true in this sort. "The Greeks, who deny the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Son, acknowledge that He is the Spirit of the Son, and that He is given unto us by the Son." "We do not say," saith Damascene[2], "that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Son, but we name Him the Spirit of the Son. 'If any man,' saith the apostle, 'have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His.' And we affirm, that He appeared by the Son, and was given unto us by Him; for He breathed upon His disciples, and said unto them, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost;' but we never say that the Son is the Son of the Holy Ghost, or proceeded from Him. They teach, therefore, that the Spirit is, and proceedeth from the Father by the Son, as the brightness is from the sun by the beam; and that, as we may say, the brightness is the brightness of the sunbeam, as well as of the sun, but not that the beam is the beam of that brightness; so the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, but the Son is not the Son of the Spirit. So then we say the Holy Ghost proceedeth or receiveth essence and being from the Father only, as from the original and fountain, but by the Son, as a middle person in order of subsistence between Them, receiving being immediately from the Father, and so mediately deriving and communicating it to Him." Neither Greeks nor Latins, therefore, deny the Holy Ghost to receive being and essence from the

[1] Lib. VI. p. 249.

[2] [De Fide Orthodoxa, I. 8. circa finem. *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν, πνεῦμα δὲ Υἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν· εἴ τις γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφανερῶσθαι καὶ μεταδίδοσθαι ἡμῖν ὁμολογοῦμεν· ἐνεφύσησε γάρ, φησι, καὶ εἶπε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον· ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου μὲν ἥ τε ἀκτὶς καὶ ἡ ἔλλαμψις· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἀκτῖνος καὶ τῆς ἐλλάμψεως· διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἡ ἔλλαμψις ἡμῖν μεταδίδοται καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ φωτίζουσα ἡμᾶς καὶ μετεχομένη ὑφ' ἡμῶν. τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν οὔτε τοῦ πνεύματος λέγομεν οὔτε μὴν ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος.*

Son, and consequently to proceed from Him as from a middle person in order of subsistence between the Father and Him, in such sort as the brightness that floweth from the sun, is from the sunbeam between the sun and it. Neither of them deny the Father to be the fountain and the original; as the sun is the fountain whence floweth both the beam and brightness of light. And both agree, that the Father from whom, and the Son by whom, the Spirit receiveth being, are one cause, or one beginning; and that by one eternal breathing the Spirit receiveth essence or subsistence from them both, in such sort as the sun and beam are one cause, and do by one action send forth that shining brightness that floweth from them. "By that which hath been spoken," saith Thomas a Jesu, "it is easy to understand that those Greeks which seem to differ from the Latins, differ but in words only, and that the Churches may easily be brought to a reconciliation and agreement, if they will but endeavour to understand each the other. But the Latins and those Greeks that agree with them, speak more fitly, and express the thing whereof they speak better than the other[1]."

Howsoever, it is certain that some of the fathers expressed, that they conceived of this mystery in one sort, and some in another. Tertullian saith, the Holy Spirit is from the Father by the Son; his words are, "Spiritum non aliunde puto, quam

[1] ["Ut ergo Bessarion, cap. 7, suæ orationis recte notavit, ea ratione dumtaxat Damascenus et nonnulli alii ex Græcis affirmant Spiritum Sanctum procedere ex Patre per Filium, non secus ac splendor procedit a sole per radium. Renuunt vero concedere procedere ex Filio quoniam apud eos dictio *ex* denotat emanationem ab aliquo tanquam a prima origine et fonte, quo pacto Spiritus Sanctus a solo Patre procedit, quoniam is solus a se et non ab alio habet vim qua spirat Spiritum Sanctum. Verum quia Filius spiranda vim sicut et reliqua accepit a Patre per generationem eternam, haud secus quam radius a sole accipit vim fundendi splendoris, idcirco licet Spiritus Sanctus proficiscatur a Filio, sitque ejus Spiritus, quinetiam ab eo detur et mittatur, renuunt tamen aliqui Græci Patres concedere hanc propositionem; *Spiritus Sanctus procedit ex Filio;* licet concedant hanc aliam; *Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Patre per Filium,* tanquam per suppositum et causam intermediam inter Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum, eo modo quo radius media causa est inter solem et splendorem. Atque id dicunt denotare dictionem, *per*.—Ex hactenus dictis facile intelligitur eos Græcos qui a Latinis dissentire videntur solis verbis differre," etc. Thomas a Jesu, p. 248.]

a Patre per Filium[1]." Hilary saith, He is from the Father and the Son; his words are, "De Patre et Filio authoribus confitendus est, &c.[2]" "When the Holy Spirit is sent," saith Hierome, "he is sent of the Father and the Son; and in Scripture he is called sometimes the Spirit of the Father, sometimes of the Son[3]." And again, "Spiritus de Patre egreditur, et propter societatem naturæ a Filio mittitur:" that is, "The Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and in that He is of the same nature and essence with the Son, He is sent of Him[4]." "Why should we not believe," saith Augustine, "that the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Son also, seeing He is the Spirit of the Son[5]?" The Greeks say not expressly that He proceedeth from the Father and the Son; for in the creed of Athanasius, as it is found in the Greek, the words are: "The Spirit is of the Father, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding," without the addition of the Son[6]. But some of them say, He is, or received being from the Father, that He appeared by the Son, and is a perfect image of the Son[7]: others, that not only the Father, but the Son also, sendeth the Holy Spirit[8]. Some, that He proceedeth from the Father, and receiveth of the Son: and others, that He is from the Father by the Son[9]. In all which

[1] Contra Praxeam. [c. IV.]

[2] De Trinitate. [II. § 29. "Most MSS. read *qui* for *de*." Brewer's ed.]

[3] In Epist. ad Hedibiam. [quæst. IX. "Spiritus Sanctus quum mittitur, a Patre et Filio mittitur: in alio atque alio loco Spiritus Dei Patris, et Christi Spiritus appellatur."]

[4] [Comment. in] Esai. [LVII. 16.]

[5] Tract. in Joan. XCIX. [de cap. 16. "Cur ergo non credamus quod etiam de Filio procedat Spiritus Sanctus, cum Filii quoque ipse sit Spiritus?"]

[6] Nyssen. in vita Greg. Thaumaturg. [III. 546, ed. 1628. *Ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον· καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πεφηνὸς δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· εἰκὼν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τελείου τελεία.*]

[7] Chrys. hom. in Joan. 76 [vel 77, § 3. *Ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἔτι ὁ Πατὴρ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Υἱός ἐστιν ὁ πέμπων.*]

[8] Epiphan. hæres. LXIX. [§ 18. *ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λαμβανόν.*]

[9] Maximus in Zachariam cap. IV. citatus a Bassarione [in Orat. Dogmatica, cap. VI. *τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὥσπερ φύσει κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστὶν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι' Υἱοῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον.* Harduin, Concil. IX. 341.]

Tarasius in Epist. ad Patriarch. Orientales. Habetur in VII.

diversity of words and forms of speaking there was one and the same meaning, and therefore no exception was taken by one against another.

But the controversy that now is touching this point began in this sort. The first publishers of the gospel of Christ delivered a rule of faith to the Christian Churches which they founded, comprehending all those articles that are found in that epitome of Christian religion which we call the Apostles' Creed. But in process of time, when Arius and his [ac]complices questioned the deity of Christ, and denied him so to be the Son of God as to be co-equal, co-eternal, and co-essential with the Father, Constantine called a council, and assembled the bishops of the Christian world at Nice, a city in Bithynia: these bishops cleared the point in controversy, and with unanimous consent composed a symbol, containing a full explication of whatsoever might be questioned touching the deity of Christ. This form of Christian profession was called the Nicene Creed, and was received as a most excellent rule of faith, by all right believers throughout the world. In this creed there was nothing expressly put down touching the Holy Ghost, more than was found in the Apostles' Creed, "that we believe in the Holy Ghost." But when Macedonius and Eunomius denied the deity of the Holy Spirit, the fathers assembled in the first council of Constantinople added to the Nicene creed these words: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; who, together with the Father and the Son, is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets;" so expressing His proceeding from the Father, without any mention of the Son. This creed, or form of Christian profession, was confirmed in the council of Ephesus, and all they accursed that should add anything unto it: meaning, as it may well be thought, to condemn such addition as might make any alteration, and not such as might serve for more full and definite explication. But howsoever, this Nicene creed, thus enlarged in the council of Constantinople, without any further addition, was confirmed, and proposed to the Christian world for a rule of faith in all the general councils that ever were

Synodo, act. 3. [τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιοῦν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον. Harduin, Concil. IV. p. 151. Compare also IX. 573.]

holden, and was so publickly received in sundry Christian Churches in their liturgies.

But in time the bishops of Spain began to add the proceeding from the Son, saying, "We believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life; who proceedeth from the Father and the Son." And the French, not long after, admitted the same addition: but the Romans admitted it not. Whereupon, Charles the Great, in his time, called a council at Aquisgrane, in which it was debated, whether the Spaniards, and after them, the French, had done well in adding to the Creed, the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Son; and whether, supposing the point of doctrine to be true, it were fit to sing and recite the creed in all public service of the Church with this addition; the Church of Rome, and some other churches, refusing to admit it. Besides this, some were sent to Leo the Third about that matter; but he would by no means allow of this addition, but persuaded them that had given way unto it, by little and little to put it out, and to sing the creed without it. The same Leo caused the symbol to be translated and written out in a table of silver, in such sort as it had been delivered in the councils, placed the same behind the altar of Saint Peter; and left it to posterity, out of the careful desire of preserving the true faith as he professed[1]. And in this symbol, in the article touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, the Father only is named in this sort: "And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father." Neither was this the private fancy of Leo only; for after his time, John the Eighth shewed his dislike of this addition likewise; for, writing unto Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, he saith these words: "Reverend Sir, that we may give you satisfaction touching that addition in the creed [and from the Son], we let you know, that not only we have no such addition, but also we condemn them as transgressors of the direct word, and [who] were the first authors of this addition[2]." And afterwards he addeth, "We carefully labour, and endeavour to bring it to pass, that all our bishops may think as we do: but no man can suddenly alter a thing of such consequence, and therefore it seemeth reasonable to us, that no

[1] [Pithœum Op. Miscell. p. 31. ed. 1609.]

[2] Vid. Pithœum [Op. Miscell. p. 35.]

man be violently constrained by you to leave out this addition." But in the year 883, the Romans also made the same addition to the creed, in the time of Pope Nicholas the First. Here, by the way, we may note the inconstancy, irresolution, and uncertainty of the Roman bishops, one of them admitting that as right and good, which another, not long after, condemned as a transgression of the direct law. And further, that in matters of great importance, other bishops have gone before them, and drawn them to do that, in the end, which at first they misliked; so that all direction, in former times, was not sought from Rome. By that which hath been said, it appeareth that the difference between the Churches, touching this point, is not such as it should cause any division or breach. Yet was this addition no sooner made, but so great dislikes grew upon it (many thinking nothing might be added, at least without a general council, to the creed formerly published in so many general councils as a rule of faith), that though the difference in truth and in deed were but verbal, yet either side endeavoured to shew the other erred dangerously: and so this verbal difference was an occasion, amongst other things, to cause a schism and separation between them[1].

Thus having cleared this point, wherein, if in anything, the Grecians may be thought to have erred, let us see what other errors are imputed to them[2]. Guido Carmelita[3], and after him, Prateolus, impute unto them sundry errors, which Lucianus of Cyprus, a learned Dominican and a worthy man, as he is accounted by Possevine[4], sheweth to be falsely ascribed unto them. As first, that simple fornication is no sin. Secondly, that they condemn second marriages, which he sheweth to be untrue likewise, though the priest bless only in the first, and not in the second. Thirdly, that they think the contract of marriage may be broken, and the bands

[1] [See Abp. Laud's Conference with Fisher, p. 19. ed. Oxon. 1839. Ant. de Dominis, De Repub. III. p. 170. Bp. Forbes, Instruct. Hist. Theolog. I. 6. § 6. See also Opuscula, p. 639, ed. 1679, Grotius. Bramhall's Schism Guarded, (Works, Vol. II. p. 597. ed. Oxon. 1842), and, Stillingfleet's Rational Account, &c. p. i. l.]

[2] ["This is taken from Thomas a Jesu, p. 234." Brewer's ed.]

[3] Citatus a Prateolo [De Sectis, p. 199. ed. 1569.]

[4] Apud Possev. Bibl. l. VI. c. 1.

dissolved at the pleasure of the parties; whereas, contrariwise, he affirmeth they allow no divorce, so as to permit a second marriage, while both the parties live. Fourthly, they are said to affirm, that the sacrament consecrated on Maundy Thursday is of more force, virtue, and efficacy, than consecrated any other day; wherein he sheweth that they are no less wronged than in the other imputations. Fifthly, they are charged to teach that it is no sin to lend upon usury; and, which is worse, that it is not necessary to make restitution of things unjustly taken away; in both which imputations, he saith, they are much wronged; for they think usury to be sin, and urge the necessity of restitution. Sixthly, they are said to think if a priest's wife die, he ceaseth to be a priest any longer, which is a mere slander, as the rest were. So that it is true that Thomas a Jesu hath, that one of the principal things that maketh the Grecians so averse from the Latins, is, that they are wronged by them, by untrue reports and unjust imputations. The things wherein they differ indeed from the Church of Rome are these.

First, they deny the Pope to be head of the Universal Church, or to have any supreme commanding authority in the Church, and over other bishops; they say that there are five patriarchs or chief bishops of the Christian Church; to wit, the bishop of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and amongst these they yield a primacy of order and dignity to the bishop of Rome; so that in all councils and meetings he is to have the first place in sitting, or giving voice, in subscribing, or defining and determining things concerning the faith and state of the Church, but not any power or commanding authority over them. We, saith Marcus Ephesinus[1], think the pope to be one of the five patriarchs, if he be orthodox. But they that met in the Florentine council, and subscribed to the union there made, do teach that he is the vicar of Christ, the father and teacher of all Christians.

Secondly, in the ministering of Baptism they differ much from the Roman Church. For first, the words of form with them are, "Let the servant of the Lord be baptized, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;"

[1] ["In the Florentine synod. See Harduin's Concil. IX. 665." Brewer's ed.]

and not "I baptize thee," as in the Latin Church. Secondly, They dip the baptized thrice in the water; whereas many among the Latins do only pour water upon the top of the head. Thirdly, They use not salt, spittle, and the like, as the Latins do. Fourthly, They anoint[1] them with chrysm, or holy oil, in the forehead[2], so as in the Latin Church they are anointed in confirmation, and in some other parts also saying, "Sigillum et obsignatio doni Spiritus Sancti:" that is, the seal and obsignation of the gift of the Holy Ghost; and use no other confirmation. Whereas the Latins make it a sacrament to be ministered by none but a bishop. Fifthly, According to the old custom used in the primitive Church, they minister the sacrament of the Eucharist to children when they baptize them.

Thirdly, they differ much more from the Latins touching the sacrament of the Eucharist. For first, they use leavened bread; and some of them proceed so far, as that they think it no sacrament if it be ministered in unleavened bread. 2ndly, They consecrate one loaf, which they divide into many parts, and give to the communicants. 3rdly, They keep the bread and wine covered until they come to bless, and then drawing aside the curtain, they bring them into sight, and lift them up from the mystical table, that the people may see what heavenly food is prepared for them. And to this purpose with them serveth the elevation. 4thly, They think the consecration is made by the prayers and blessing, and that the reciting of the words of Christ, "this is my body," &c., serveth only to put us in mind what was then done when he first instituted this sacrament, and to give a power or aptness to the sacramental elements to be changed mystically into his body and blood; whereas the Latins think the bare recital of the words of Christ do work the consecration. 5thly, They pronounce the words of Christ aloud, that all may hear and understand; the Latins so that they are not heard. 6thly, They give the sacrament to the hands of the communicants; the Latins put it in their mouths. 7thly, They condemn private masses, as appeareth by Marcus Ephesinus, who saith, the priest in the Latin Church eateth all and drinketh all himself, giving no part to any that are pre-

[1] Cyrill. Catech. p. 524. [xxi—iii. § 4.]

[2] [See Dr Covel's State of the Greek Church, pp. 185. et sq.]

sent, no, not to the deacon that assisteth him, and yet crieth aloud, Take and eat. So do they many things, saith he, in the celebration of this holy mystery, contrary to the tradition received from the fathers, contrary to the words of Christ, and contrary to themselves and their own words 8thly, They minister the communion in both kinds to all communicants, and think it necessary so to do; the Latins minister it only in one kind to the lay people, and such priests and clergymen as consecrate not, but are present only to communicate. 9thly, They teach that there is a conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; but such as that is, whereby the iron is turned into fire, or rather into a fiery nature and being, whence it becometh burning iron; in which there is no abolishing of the substance, but such a change that it is no longer merely iron, but the nature and properties of fire appear in it, rather than of iron. So that, as iron is turned into fire, not by an absolute ceasing to be, or losing of former properties, but by a suspension of them for a time, so that they appear not, and by becoming one in such sort with the fire, that it hath all the properties and actions of it; so the bread is turned into the body of Christ, not by an absolute ceasing to be, but by becoming one in such sort with Christ's body, through the presence of the Spirit descending and coming down upon it, as that the communicating in the one is the partaking in the other, and an imparting of all such graces as may or do flow from any union with the same. The bread and wine, saith Damascene[1], are so changed into the body and blood of Christ, by the presence of the Spirit descending and coming down upon them, as that they are no longer two, but one and the same thing. And as the coal is no longer mere wood or iron, but so united to the fire, that it is become one with it; so the bread wherein we communicate is no longer mere bread, but united unto the Deity. He doth not say the bread ceaseth to be, or is abolished; but that it ceaseth to be that it was, mere bread. What kind of

[1] Orthodoxæ Fid. lib. iv. c. 13. [*οὕτως ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος, οἴνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτό.—ἄνθραξ δὲ ξύλον λιτὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἡνωμένον πυρὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς κοινωνίας, οὐκ ἄρτος λιτός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡνωμένος θεότητι.*]

conversion this is, we may learn out of Cyril[1]. "Vos uncti estis," saith he, "unguento facti participes et consortes Christi, cæterum vide ne illud putes unguentum tantum. Quemadmodum enim panis Eucharistiæ post Sancti Spiritus invocationem non amplius est ἄρτος λιτὸς, sed corpus Christi; sic sanctum hoc unguentum non amplius est unguentum nudum post invocationem; neque, si quis ita malit appellare commune, sed donum Christi." Here we see he maketh the consecrated and holy ointment to be the gift of Christ, as the bread is the body of Christ; and so to cease to be mere oil or ointment, as the bread which we break ceaseth to be mere bread; whereas yet no man imagineth any such transubstantiation of the oil or holy ointment, as to abolish the nature and substance of it. But that the Greeks never dreamed of any such conversion of the bread and wine as should utterly abolish the former substance, it is evident by Theodoret, in his Dialogues. For whereas the Eutychian heretic objects, that as the outward signs in the sacrament of the Eucharist are changed after they are consecrated, so the body of Christ, after it was assumed, was changed into the divine substance; the orthodox and right believer answereth, that he is taken in that snare which he laid for others. For the mystical signs do not change their nature after consecration, but remain and continue in the same substance, figure, and shape, and are visible and may be handled, as before; but they are conceived and believed to be that which now they are made; and are adored, as being that which they are believed to be[2]. Here we see is no such

[1] Catech. III. p. 525. [ὑμεῖς δὲ μύρῳ ἐχρίσθητε, κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι. ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ὑπονοήσῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλὸν οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινὸν μετ' ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα. Cateches. xxi. Mystag. iii. § 3.]

[2] Dialog. Inconfus. [p. 126. ὥσπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μέν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται, οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μεταβλήθη τὴν θείαν. ΟΡΘ. ἔαλως αἷς ὕφηνες ἄρκυσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁραία ἐστι καὶ ἁπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν· νοεῖται δὲ καὶ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. ed. Schulze.]

change of the mystical signs as to abolish their substance and former being, for then the conversion in the sacrament had been such as the heretic imagined it to be in the body of Christ assumed; and so Theodoret could not truly have said, he was taken in the snare which he laid for others. Wherefore to conclude this point, the Grecians teach, that there is a conversion of the sacramental elements, but of that kind which I have before shewed, that abolisheth not the things which were, but maketh them to be that they were not. Which may further appear, in that they say likewise there is a change of the communicants into the being of Christ, and make the end of the sacrament to be nothing else but *μετουσία Χριστοῦ*, a transubstantiation into Christ; *τῶν μετεχόντων ἐκθέωσις*, the making of them that communicate partakers of the divine nature, according to that of the Apostle, who saith, "we are made the body of Christ;" and yet is not our former being abolished, but we are made to be that which we were not, in a divine and supernatural sort, according to that of Damascene[1]: "Let us come and receive the body of Him that was crucified, let us partake of that divine burning coal, that the fire of desire being kindled in us by that coal, may burn up our sins, and lighten our hearts; all that being changed into that divine fire, we may become fire, and be in a sort deified, and made partakers of the divine nature." All which changes neither abolish nor confound substances. For as Cyprian saith well[2], "Nostra et ipsius conjunctio, nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias, sed affectus consociat et confœderat voluntates;" that is, "The union and conjunction that is betwixt Christ and us, neither causeth any mixture of the persons, nor maketh them to be substantially the same, but joineth affections and confederateth the wills." Lastly, touching the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, they teach that it is a sacrifice, and that we may the better conceive what they mean, they lay down these propositions. First, that under the law two

[1] Orthodoxæ Fidei, l. iv. c. 13. [*προσέλθωμεν αὐτῷ πόθῳ διακαεῖ καὶ σταυροειδῶς τὰς παλάμας τυπώσαντες, τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου τὸ σῶμα ὑποδεξώμεθα, καὶ ἐπιθέντες ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ χεῖλη καὶ μέτωπα, τοῦ θείου ἄνθρακος μεταλάβωμεν, ἵνα τὸ πῦρ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν πόθου προσλαβὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθρακος πύρωσιν καταφλέξῃ ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ φωτίσῃ ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας, καὶ τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς πυρωθῶμεν καὶ θεωθῶμεν.*]

[2] De cœnâ Domini. [p. 97.]

sorts of things were presented unto God, gifts and sacrifices. Gifts, as vessels of gold or silver, and things of like nature: which they dedicated unto God, and set apart from profane and ordinary uses. Sacrifices, as sheep, oxen, and the like things, when they were slain and their blood poured out; and generally all such things as were consumed in the fire. The second proposition is, that the body of Christ was both a gift and a sacrifice; for He was dedicated to God from His first entrance into the world, as the firstfruits of our nature, and as the first born of Mary his mother; and afterwards He became a sacrifice when He was crucified. The third, that bread and wine are presented unto God in the holy sacrament, in the nature of gifts before they are consecrated. The fourth, that the bread and wine are consecrated, and so changed as to become the sacrificed body and blood of Christ. The fifth, that it may be truly said, that there is not only an oblation in the holy Eucharist, but a sacrifice also, in that the body of Christ which was once sacrificed is there. The sixth, that the bread cannot be said to be sacrificed, for then the sacrifices of the New Testament should not excel those of the Old. The seventh, that in the sacrificing of a living thing, the killing of it is implied. The eighth, that the body of Christ cannot be said to be sacrificed in the Eucharist, because He can die no more, but is immortal and impassible. The ninth, that Christ may be said to be newly sacrificed and slain commemoratively, in that the sacrificing of Him on the altar of the cross is there commemorated and lively expressed, and the benefits of it communicated to them that are made partakers of those holy mysteries, according to that of Lyra[1]: "Sed dices, sacrificium altaris quotidie offertur in Ecclesia, etc.; dicendum, quod non est ibi sacrificii reiteratio, sed unius sacrificii in cruce oblati quotidiana commemoratio. Secundum illud Lucæ xxii. 'Hoc facite in Meam commemorationem:'" that is, "If thou say, the sacrifice of the altar is daily offered; the answer is clear and easy, that the body of Christ is not newly sacrificed on the altar, but whereas Christ once offered Himself as a sacrifice on the cross, the same is daily commemorated; according to that of Luke xxii. 'Do this in remembrance of Me.'" And therefore Chry-

[1] In Hebr. x. [where ed. 1472 reads *continua* for *quotidiana*, &c.]

sostome, writing upon the Epistle to the Hebrews[1], having named it a sacrifice, addeth by way of explication, or correction, that it is a sacrifice, or rather the commemoration of a sacrifice. So that herein they differ from the Romanists, who teach that there is a new real sacrificing of Christ.

In the doctrine of free-will they do not so clearly express themselves as St Augustine and others that follow him. For they teach that we must first will the things that are right and good, and that God then helpeth, confirmeth, and setteth us forward; so that they suppose he followeth our wills, and goeth not before them, lest the liberty thereof might be prejudiced. Their meaning, I think, is, that no good can be wrought in us without our consent; which St Augustine also confesseth to be true; but it is God's grace that winneth, inclineth, and boweth us to consent to that good which itself suggesteth; in which respect it may be truly said to go before our will, and yet not to prejudice our liberty. If they speak not so distinctly touching this point as some others do, it is not to be marvelled at; seeing the Greek Fathers are not so clear in this point as the Latins are. Whereupon Aloisius Lippomannus *in Catena Aurea*, in his preface to the reader, hath these words: "I have thought good to admonish thee, that if in this whole work thou shalt anywhere find any such sayings of Chrysostome, as that when man endeavoureth, and doth that which pertaineth to him, God will abundantly give grace; thou wisely and warily read that holy Doctor, lest thou fall into any such error as to believe that God's grace is given for our merits. For if out of merit, it is not grace. But far be it from us to think, seeing we cannot so much as endeavour or do anything that pertaineth to us, without God's grace preventing us. According to that in the Psalm, 'His mercy shall prevent me,' and again, 'His mercy shall follow me all the days of my life.' And that of holy Church, 'Let thy grace, O Lord, we beseech thee, prevent and follow us.'"

Sixthly, touching justification they lay down these propositions: the first, that we must have faith to believe the things revealed unto us of God. The second, that this faith maketh us see what the estate of man's nature should be, what it was at first, and how much we are fallen from that we were.

[1] Cap. 10. [οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ ποιοῦμεν· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας.]

The third, that out of this faith must flow a dislike of those sinful evils, into which we are fallen, and a fear of woful consequents, if we be not freed from them. The fourth, that hence must grow a desire of remission of that which is past, of grace that we may cease to do evil and learn to do well; and of assistance of the same grace, that we may go on, continue, and not be turned out of the good way when we are entered into it. The fifth, that no man obtaineth remission of sins without dislike of sin, and desire and purpose to leave off to do evil. The sixth, that being thus converted unto God in longing desires of reconciliation, we must not doubt, but assure ourselves, of the obtaining of it. The seventh, that being justified, no man can be saved without the study and care of well-doing, and that works are necessary unto salvation. The eighth, that when we have done all, we must confess we are unprofitable servants, that in many things we sin all. That if God do mark and observe our defects, we cannot abide it. That we must not trust in our works, but in God's mercy. That even those things which seem small to us, deserve great punishment if God enter into judgment with us. And that it is not our well-doing, but His mercy, that maketh us escape condemnation. So that they differ from the Romanists touching the perfection of inherent righteousness, the merit of congruence and condignity, and works of supererogation.

Seventhly, the Romanists teach, that sins committed after baptism, are not so remitted for Christ's sake, but that we must suffer that extremity of punishment which they deserve, and therefore either we must afflict ourselves in such sort and degree of extremity as may answer the desert of our sin, or be punished by God, here or in the world to come, in such degree and sort that His justice may be satisfied. But they that are orthodox teach, first, that it is injustice to require the payment of one debt twice. Secondly, that Christ suffered the punishment due to all sins committed before and after baptism, and therefore so satisfied the justice of God, that they are partakers of the benefit of His satisfaction, so far forth as that they are made partakers of it, are freed from the guilt of punishment. Thirdly, that the satisfaction of Christ is applied and communicated unto us upon the condition of our faith and repentance, without suffering the punishment

that sin deserveth. Fourthly, that it is no less absurd to say, as the Papists do, that our satisfaction is required as a condition, without which Christ's satisfaction is not appliable unto us, than to say, Peter hath paid the debt of John, and he to whom it was due accepteth of the same payment, conditionally if he pay it himself also. Fifthly, that as one man payeth another man's debt, and the payment of it is accepted upon condition of his dislike of former evil courses, and promise of amendment, and not otherwise; so it may be truly said, that neither Christ hath paid our debt, or God the Father accepted the payment of it for us, but upon condition of our sorrowful conversion and repentance. Sixthly, that the penal and afflictive courses which the sinner putteth himself into, may be named satisfaction dispositive, in that they put us into an estate wherein we are capable of the benefit of Christ's satisfaction, freeing us from the punishment of sin. In this sort the Greeks urge the necessity of satisfactions, and not as the Romanists do, which appeareth by the reasons and causes which they deliver. Whereof the first is, that correcting ourselves, and amending that which otherwise God by His chastisements must drive us to do, we may escape punishment. The second, that we may pull up the root of sinful evils, that is, the inordinate desire and pleasure we had in things which either we should not desire, or not so as we do. The third, that this correction may serve us as a bridle to restrain us from running into the like or worse evils hereafter. The fourth, that we may frame ourselves to labour and a strait course of life, virtue being a laborious thing and requiring painful endeavours. The fifth, that we may make it appear to ourselves and others that we hate sin truly and from the heart. These are true reasons why men should put themselves into penitential courses, and these only are assigned by the Grecians; but they never give any such reason thereof as the Romanists fancy. And as they receive not the Romish doctrine of satisfactions, so they never admitted any use of such indulgences as are granted in the Roman Church, nor ever dreamed of any power in the Church of communicating the overplus of one man's satisfactions and sufferings, to supply the want of another.

Eighthly, touching the state of the departed: first they think that neither the saints are already entered into the

kingdom prepared for them, nor that the sinners are already cast into hell; but that both are in an expectation of that lot that remaineth for them, and shall so continue till the resurrection and judgment. This opinion prevaileth generally amongst all the Eastern Christians, and it was the opinion of many of the ancient fathers. Secondly, they believe that the souls of such men as excel in virtue, are worthy of eternal life; and such as merely embrace this present world, of eternal punishment: but that they who were in a course of virtue, yet not without sundry defects, and die in the same, are not to be punished eternally, nor yet to be made partakers of God's glory till they have obtained remission of those sinful defects in which they die without particular repentance. So that they believe there is remission of some sins not remitted here, obtained after this life. But whether they whose sins are so remitted be subject to any punishment after their departing hence, or God do freely, without inflicting any punishment, remit them out of his merciful disposition, and at the entreaty of the Church, they do not so clearly resolve[1]. Though they incline to think that this remission is free, and amongst many other reasons for proof of the same, allege that as some few good things in them that are generally and principally evil, shall have no reward in the world to come; so some few evil things in them that principally embrace virtue, shall not be punished. But if they be subject to any punishment, they all agree, that it is only the wanting of the clear light of God's countenance that shineth upon others, or the being in a strait or restraint, or the sorrowful dislike of former evils; and not any punishment inflicted from without, to give satisfaction to the justice of God, or to drive them to dislike that which they formerly liked well, and so to purge them from the impurity of sin; as they of the Church of Rome imagine. Thirdly, they pray for the dead, not, as the papists, to deliver them out of purgatory, but for their resurrection, and the remission of their sins, and public acquittal in the day of judgment, the perfecting of whatsoever is yet wanting unto them, the possessing of them of heavenly happiness, and, in the meanwhile, the placing of them where in best sort they may expect till they be perfected.

Lastly, touching the saints departed, they lay down these

[1] Apologia Græcorum de Purgatorio.

propositions. First, that, truly and properly, God only is to be invocated. Secondly, that saints are invocated improperly and by accident only. Thirdly, that Peter and Paul hear none of those that invocate them, but the grace and gift that they have, according to the promise, "I am with thee till the end of the world;" meaning (as it may be conceived) that the saints hear not them that invocate them, but Christ the Son of God, who was given unto them, and promised to be with them; and the Holy Ghost, which is likewise given unto them, and abideth and dwelleth in them for ever. So that whatsoever their words seem to import when they speak to the saints, their meaning is, to direct their petitions to that God that promised to be with them, and to hear the petitions, and grant the requests, of all such as by them should be converted, and should seek to Him, in hope to obtain such things as by them he made them promise of. "The question is proposed," saith Hugo de Sancto Victore, "whether the saints, when we entreat them to intercede for us, do pray for us, and how?" The answer hereunto is, that the saints are no otherwise said to pray for us, but in that the favour and acceptation they have with God, induceth him to do good to such as he findeth well affected towards them for his sake. So that it is nothing, whether they hear us or not; for it sufficeth that God heareth us, to whom we principally direct ourselves.

Ninthly, touching images. First, they differ from the Church of Rome, in that they allow no image of God. "Who can make an image," saith Damascene[1], "of God, who is invisible, incorporeal, incircumscriptible? It is great folly and impiety to seek to have any representation of Him that is an infinite and incomprehensible spirit." Secondly, they admit no graven, carved or molten images, of gold, silver, wood or stone; but think they savour of heathenish superstition. Thirdly, they have the pictures of the saints, not only for history and ornament, which might be allowed; but so as in reference to Christ and his saints, to bow and incline themselves before them: this they do, following the second Nicene council, which though it condemned all religious adoration of the saints and their pictures, and seemeth to permit no other

[1] Damascen. De Orthod. Fide, iv. 17. [*τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀπεριγράπτου καὶ ἀσχηματίστου Θεοῦ τίς δύναται ποιήσασθαι μίμημα;*]

acts of outward reverence and respect to be done to pictures of saints, than they yield to all sacred and holy things, as books, vessels, vestments, and places dedicated to the service of God; nor the expressing of any other affections towards them, or remembrances of them, than holy men here in this world bear one towards another, and so far short of the conceit of the Romanists; yet the Western Church, in the time of Charles the Great, and a long time after, condemned that council, and the image worship, which they that met in that council sought to bring in: neither can the Greeks be excused from superstition in this point[1].

Tenthly, they permit such as are to be priests, if they like not to live single, to marry wives before they be ordained and made priests, and to live with them after they are entered into that degree and order; knowing that God hath ordained marriage, that it is honourable amongst all men, and that they that condemn priests' marriage, are the occasion of much sinful impurity. "The Romanists," saith Photius, "do so press the law of single life, that many grievous scandals follow the same. For with them many virgins become mothers that never were wives, and many mothers are found to nurse the children of such fathers as may not be known. And yet, these endeavour to make the true priests of God, that live in lawful marriage, to be odious and hateful." So then the Grecians leave it free to them that are to be ordained priests to take unto them wives before their ordination, and to live with them afterwards: but if they then refuse so to do, they permit them not to marry afterwards. Yet if any do, they dissolve not the marriage, but put them from the execution of their office and ministry.

Lastly, touching abstinence, they differ not a little from the Church of Rome: for they fast Wednesday, because on that day Judas agreed with the Jews to betray Christ; and Friday, because on that day Christ was crucified. But they fast no Saturday in the whole year, but only Easter-eve. In the Lent they abstain on Saturday from flesh, but all the year besides they freely eat flesh that day. They keep four Lents in the year. The first, that which the Western Christians observe. The second from the octaves of Whitsuntide until the holidays of Peter and Paul, which they call the

[1] [See the Orthodox Confession, Q. lv.]

fast of St Peter. The third from the first of August until the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The fourth, six weeks in the Advent, beginning presently upon the feast of St Philip, according to the calendar of the Russians; and therefore call it the fast of St Philip. Their monks and bishops, as having been monks, do never eat flesh. Lastly, they all abstain from things strangled, and blood, observing (as they suppose) the canon of the apostles.

Thus we see the extent of the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the religion of them that are under the same. This jurisdiction hath been greatly straitened within these few years; for both the Russians, both that under the Muscovites, and the other subject to the King of Polonia, are fallen from the same. But the number of them that profess the Greek religion is not diminished. For all those Christians still retain their former religion, rites, and ceremonies. "The metropolitan of Moscow," saith Possevine[1], "was wont to be confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, but now he is chosen by the prince, and consecrated by two or three of his own bishops, without seeking any confirmation from the Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom yet the Emperor of Russia sendeth yearly a certain sum of money by way of alms." The occasion of this breach and falling off, Possevine saith, was the coming of a certain priest from Constantinople unto Russia, in the time of Basilius. For this priest finding the Moscovites to differ in some things pertaining to religion, not only from the Latins, but the Greeks also, freely reprehended them, and shewed his mislike; this his reproof so enraged the emperor, that though he had sent for him before he came, yet he cast him into prison, and would never release him, though the great Turk wrote unto him on his behalf. Since this time the Muscovites seek no confirmation of their metropolitan from the patriarch of Constantinople. The Russians that are under the king of Polonia in the year 1595, finding they could not have recourse to the patriarch of Constantinople, living under the tyranny of the Turk, in such sort as was fit, fell from that jurisdiction and submitted themselves to the Roman bishop, yet not without reservation of the Greek religion, and sundry

[1] [Moscovia, p. 89. ed. 1587.]

limitations in subjecting themselves to that government, as we may see at large in Thomas a Jesu[1].

With these Christians that presently are, or lately were subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, the Melchites of Syria and the Georgians hold communion, and are of the same religion with them.

Touching the Melchites, we must observe, that after the ending of the council of Chalcedon, there grew a very great distraction in the east part of the world; for many disliked and questioned the proceedings in that council, and would not consent to the decrees of it. Amongst those that thus refused to admit the council, some ran into dangerous errors and heresies: the emperor Leo, therefore, for the remedying and preventing of evils of this kind, required the bishops of those parts by their subscription, to confirm the faith established in that council; and they that so did at the emperor's command, were by the rest in scorn and contempt called Melchites, as if you would say, men of the king's religion, of Melchi, which in the Syrian tongue signifieth a king; but they were indeed, and were reputed, right believers by all the sounder parts of the Church throughout the world. These fell from the communion of the Roman Church when the Greeks did, and are wholly of the same religion; yet were they never subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, but of Antioch: these for their number are reputed the greatest sort of Christians in the Orient[2]. Their patriarch resideth at Damascus, whither the patriarchal seat was translated; Antioch itself (where they that believed in Christ were first called Christians, and which was therefore named Theopolis, the City of God), lying in a manner waste, or broken and dissevered into small villages, of which only one of about threescore houses, with a small temple, belonged to Christians: but in Damascus there are above a thousand houses of Christians.

The Maronites which inhabit Mount Libanus have a patriarch of their own, whom they honour as patriarch of

[1] Lib. vi. p. 328.

[2] Boter. relat. p. 3. lib. ii. cap. de Melch. ["See Forbes' Instruct. Hist. Theolog. iii. 17: Brerewood's 'Enquiries touching the Diversity of Religions, &c.' ch. xvi.: Renaudot, Liturg. Orient. ii. p. 1: and especially, Assemanni, Bib. Orient. I. 507." Brewer's ed.]

Antioch; as likewise the Jacobites of Syria have a patriarch of their own residing in Mesopotamia, whom they account patriarch of Antioch. But the Melchites, who retain the ancient religion of Syria, acknowledge none for patriarch but their own chief bishop residing at Damascus, and reject the other, as having departed from the faith, obedience, and communion of the true patriarch.

The Georgians inhabit Iberia: they are, saith Volateran, great warriors, and cruel to their bordering neighbours. They are named Georgians[1], as some think, from St George, whose banner they carry when they go to war against infidels. But he rather inclineth to think they were the same that were named Georgians by Pliny before St George was born; and that it is not a name of sect, but of their country named Georgia and Iberia. They follow the opinion of the Grecians touching matters of religion; and in their divine service and writings they partly use the Greek tongue and partly the Chaldee. They have an archbishop residing in Mount Sina, in a monastery of St Catharine, whom they obey without any further relation or dependence. Between these and the river Tanais, along the coast of Mæotis and the Euxine Sea, lie the Mengrellians and the Circassians, who are not only of the Greek religion, but subject also to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Thus having spoken of the Christians of the Greek religion, it remaineth that we come to the rest. Amongst whom, the first that offer themselves to our consideration are the Assyrians, commonly named Nestorians. What the heresy of Nestorius was, is known to all. For he professed to believe that the son of Mary is a divine man, and that God is with him[2], but would not acknowledge that he is God, and therefore would not yield, that it may be truly said that Mary is the mother of God. But they that are now named Nestorians[3] acknowledge that Christ was perfect God and

[1] ["Of the Georgians, see Thos. a Jesu, vii. 408." Id.]

[2] ["θεοφόρον ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον θεὸν εἶναι κατ' ἀλήθειαν, ὡς Υἱὸν ἕνα καὶ φύσει, καθὸ γέγονε σὰρξ ὁ λόγος. See St Cyril's Letter to Nestorius, Harduin's Concil. I. p. 1294." Id.]

[3] ["Upon the Nestorians, see Thos. a Jesu, vii. 1, 2, 3. Canisii Thesaurus, by Basnage, vol. I. Renaudot, Liturg. II. 566. Assemanni De Patriarchis Chald. et Nestor. 4to. 1775; and Morinus De Ordinationibus, p. 364." Id.]

perfect man, from the first moment of his conception, and that Mary may rightly be said to be the mother of the Son of God, or of the Eternal Word, but think it not fit to call her the mother of God, lest they might be thought to imagine that she conceived and bare the divine nature of the three persons; the name of God containing Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This scruple might be tolerated in them, but they have another leaven that soureth the whole lump. For they are said to affirm, that the nature of man is imperfect without personality, and therefore that the Son of God, who assumed not an imperfect human nature, assumed the nature of man, together with the personality of the same. Whence it seemeth to follow, that there are two persons in Christ. For the clearing of this point it is to be noted, that personality is nothing but the existence of nature in itself, which is in two sorts, potentially or actually. The human nature which the Son of God assumed, potentially existeth in itself, and would have existed actually, if it had been left unto itself. And in this sense they say the Son of God assumed the nature of man, together with the personality of the same, that is, with a potential aptness to exist in itself. But it was not left, but prevented before it might actually exist in itself, and assumed into the divine person, and so suspended from actually existing in itself. In which sense we rightly say, the Son of God assumed the nature of man without the personality of the same; and that it must not be granted that there are two persons in Christ, as there are two natures. Neither do these Christians so say there are two persons in Christ, as if the human nature did actually exist in itself, but only to imply, that there is a potential aptness in it so to exist, if it were left unto itself. Yet the form of words which they use is not to be allowed, for it savoureth of heresy, and took beginning from heresy. But that they have no heretical meaning it is more than probable, because otherwise they should contrary and overthrow their former true confession, that Christ was perfect God and perfect man from the first moment of his conception. And that Mary, that conceived and bare him, may truly be said to be the mother of the Son of God. And also because the archbishop of the Indians was permitted to retain his ancient religion, when

first he submitted himself to the Church of Rome, which he might not have been suffered to do, if he had erred in the article of the incarnation. These Nestorians inhabit (though mixed with Mahometans and infidels) a great part of the Orient. For besides the countries of Babylon, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Parthia, and Media, where very many of them are found, they are scattered in the east, northerly to Cataia, and southerly to India. So that in the histories we find mention of them, and no other sort of Christians, in sundry regions of Tartary. These have a patriarch residing in Muzal, on the river Tigris, in Mesopotamia. This Muzal either is the city of Seleucia, so honoured in times past, that the government of those parts was committed to the bishop thereof, with the name of a Catholic, and place of session in councils next the Patriarch of Jerusalem; or if that were destroyed, the patriarchal seat was thence translated to Muzal. In this city (though subject to Mahometans) the Jacobites have three temples, the Nestorians fifteen, being esteemed to be about forty thousand souls[1]. In the time of Julius the Third, certain of these Nestorians fell from the bishop of Muzal, and took for their head Simon Sulaca, of the order of St Basil, who submitted himself to the bishop of Rome, exhibited an orthodox confession of his faith, and was by him confirmed bishop of Muzal in title and name; but the other held the place still. So that when he returned, he was forced to abide in Caramit. This Simon Sulaca made certain archbishops and bishops, and caused the memory of Nestorius to be put out of their liturgies; and in the end he was slain by the Turk's ministers. But Abdesu, of the same order, succeeded him; and after him, Aatalla: after him, the archbishop of Gelu and Salamas, renouncing the obedience of the Bishop of Muzal, was elected patriarch, and confirmed by the Bishop of Rome. So that there were four patriarchs, successively following one another, that held communion with the Church of Rome, but no one of them ever possessed that city, but resided either in Caramit, Seert, or Zeinalbach in the confines of Persia. All these were undoubtedly orthodox touching the article of the incarnation of the Son of God. And Elias[2], one amongst the bishops that held the seat of

[1] Onuphr. in Jul. III. Thomas a Jesu, lib. vii. part I. cap. 3, 4.

[2] Leonard. Episcop. Sidon. citat. a Thomas a Jesu, ibidem.

Muzal, desired to be joined in communion with the Church of Rome, and sent his confession, which was found to be orthodox and right; so that they of that faction also seem not to have differed much in judgment touching any article of faith.

The Nestorians are subject to these two patriarchs to this day. The patriarch of Muzal hath under him twenty-two bishops, more than six hundred territories, in which there are at the least twenty-two rich and flourishing cities, and in every one of them five hundred families: in Muzal, one thousand, whereof every one containeth about forty persons; and other lesser territories containing about two hundred or three hundred families a-piece, and thirty monasteries. In India also there are many families subject to this patriarch, by the name of patriarch of Babylon, to whom he was wont to assign bishops. There were in India before the Portugals coming, about 15,000 or 16,000 families. About some thirty years since, their archbishop fell from the patriarch of Muzal or Babylon, to the bishop of Rome, by the persuasion of the Portugals; yet retaining the ancient religion which was permitted. But his successor, in another synod holden at Diamper, not far from Maliapur, by the Archbishop of Goa, in the year 1599, received the religion of Rome also, and suffered their liturgy to be altered, as we find it in "Bibliotheca Patrum[1]."

But let us proceed to take a view of the particular points of their religion. First, all clergymen amongst the Chaldeans[2], and also all laymen that excel in devotion, receive the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood in their own hands under both kinds; the rest receive into their mouths the body of the Lord dipped into the blood. They contract marriages within the degrees prohibited, marrying in the second degree without dispensation. Their priests are married; and after the death of the first wife, have liberty to marry the second, or third time, or oftener. They minister the communion in leavened bread. They use not auricular confession, nor confirmation. They deny the supremacy of the pope.

The specialties of the religion of the Indians, or Christians of St Thomas, before they admitted any alteration, were

[1] Auctarii Tom. II. in fine. [Thos. a Jesu, p. 354.]

[2] [Upon the Chaldeans, see Thomas a Jesu, vii. 4.]

these. First, they distributed the sacraments in both kinds. Secondly, they used bread seasoned with salt; and, instead of wine, India affording none, the juice of raisins softened one night in water, and so pressed forth. Thirdly, they baptized not their children till they were forty days old, except in danger of death. Fourthly, their priests were married, but excluded from the second marriage. Fifthly, they had no images in their churches, but the cross only. Sixthly, they denied the supremacy of the pope.

From the Assyrians and Indians, unjustly named Nestorians, let us pass to those Christians that are supposed to be Monophysites, as the Jacobites, Armenians, Cophti or Christians of Egypt, the Ethiopians or Abissenes[1]. These believe that the natures of God and man were so united in the person of Christ, that he is truly God and truly man, and that after the union they remain distinct in their being of essence and property, so that the divinity is not of the same essence, substance, and nature with the humanity; for the divinity is infinite, incomprehensible, and increated; and the humanity is finite and a created essence: yet, because they are united and conjoined in the unity of the same person, they say they are but one nature, and will not acknowledge, as we do, that there are two natures in Christ. That we may the better know what we are to think of these Christians differing thus from us, I will first historically shew how this difference grew; secondly, more largely refute their opinion; and thirdly, make it appear, that in respect of this difference, they are not to be rejected as heretics.

There lived at Constantinople a certain man whose name was Eutyches, a priest and an abbot. This Eutyches, in opposition to Nestorius, who divided the person of Christ, proceeded so far that he confounded the natures, imagining a conversion of the divinity into the humanity, or of the humanity into the divinity, or a kind of mixtion of them[2]. This Eutyches was well acquainted with Eusebius bishop of Dorilæum, who understanding by conference with him that he was fallen into such a damnable heresy, made the matter known to Flavianus, the bishop of Constantinople, wishing him to call Eutyches unto him and sharply to rebuke him,

[1] [See Thos. a Jesu, p. 359. sq.]

[2] [Vid. Forbes Instruct. Hist. Theol. ii. 9.]

lest the faith might be endangered. Flavianus, as soon as he understood thus much, called together thirty of his bishops, and in their presence asked of Eutyches, whether he did believe that Christ's body is of the same substance with ours? He answered, he had never said so hitherto, but would, seeing they would have it so; to whom Flavianus replied, that not they, but the fathers required him so to profess, and therefore if he did so believe, he should anathematize all that thought otherwise. To whom Eutyches answered, he had never hitherto professed so to believe, yet would now for their sakes; but would never be induced to anathematize them that think otherwise, for that if he should, he must, as he supposed, accurse the holy fathers and scriptures, which do so speak, that they deny Christ's body to be of the same substance with ours. When Flavianus heard him thus speak, he put him out of the order of presbyters, and removed him from his office and dignity of an abbot[1]. Eutyches, thus degraded and deprived, resorted oft to the emperor, complaining that he was wronged by Flavianus. Whereupon Theodosius, then emperor, called a council at Ephesus[2], that it might be there examined whether Eutyches were duly proceeded against or not; and made Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, president of the council, who caused the proceedings of Flavianus to be read, but suffered him not to say anything in his own defence, neither would he give him leave to ask any question if any doubt arose; and for Eusebius, who was to accuse Eutyches, he would not so much as suffer him to speak. The conclusion was, he deposed Flavianus, and restored Eutyches. Things being thus violently carried, they that supplied the place of the bishop of Rome, returned home, made all known to Leo, the bishop. He presently went to Valentinian, who wrote to Theodosius to call another council; but he refused so to do, thinking Dioscorus had duly proceeded. But after his death, Martianus called a council at Chalcedon[3]. In the first session of this council Dioscorus appeared, where he clearly anathematized those that bring in either a confusion, conversion, or commixtion of the natures of God and man united in Christ; so condemning Eutyches, whom, out of partiality and sinister respect, he had formerly acquitted: but yet professed, that after the union we must

[1] [A.D. 448.] [2] [A.D. 449.] [3] [A.D. 451.]

not say there are two natures, but one nature of the Son of God incarnate; and told them he had to this purpose sundry testimonies of the holy fathers, Athanasius, Gregory, and Cyril. For confirmation of this his saying, Eustathius, bishop of Beretum, produced an epistle of Cyril to Acacius bishop of Melitinum, Valerianus of Iconium, and Successus bishop of the province of Diocæsarea, wherein more fully explaining certain things contained in his former epistles, he saith expressly, We must not say there are two natures in Christ, but one nature of the Son of God incarnate. Which when they of the east disliked, he brought forth the book, and read the very same words unto them, and after the reading of them, brake forth into these words: "Whosoever saith there is one nature, to deny the flesh of Christ which we believe to be consubstantial with ours, let him be anathema: and whosoever saith there are two natures, to make a division in Christ, let him be accursed also:" adding, that Flavianus admitted this doctrine of Cyril, and therefore that he was unjustly condemned by Dioscorus. But Dioscorus answered, that he condemned him, because he affirmed that there are two natures in Christ after the union, whereas the fathers tell us, we must not say there are two natures after the union, but one of the Word incarnate. And after this time he refused to appear any more in the council. Whereupon, for his former violent and sinister proceedings, and for his present contumacy, he was condemned and deposed, and not for heresy, as is expressly delivered by Anatolius in the council. For whereas there was a form of confession composed which Asclepiades recited in the council, wherein was contained, that Christ consisted of two natures; there arose presently a great doubt amongst the bishops: the nobles and great men therefore that moderated, spake unto them in this sort: "Dioscorus saith that Christ consisteth of two natures; Leo, that he consisteth in two natures, without mutation, confusion, or division: whom follow ye?" To whom the bishops, rising up, answered with one voice, "As Leo, so we all believe: accursed be Dioscorus." At the hearing hereof, Anatolius said, Dioscorus was not deposed for erring in faith, but because he excommunicated Leo, bishop of Rome; and refused to come into the council when as he was required so to do. Neither was the form of confession recited by Asclepiades rejected as ill, but

as imperfect. That which some allege, that Dioscorus had been condemned as an heretic if he had appeared, is childish. For if the fathers there assembled had judged his sayings heretical, they might, and no doubt would have condemned him as an heretic though absent, as well as the council of Ephesus condemned Nestorius, though absenting himself, and, as much as in him lay, declining their judgment. So the council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches as an heretic, and deposed Dioscorus for his contumacy and other sinister, violent, and disordered proceedings in that second council, wherein he was president; and so ended. But after the ending thereof there arose woful distractions and divisions in the Christian world. For besides those that followed Eutyches in his heresy there were many found who, though they were far from adhering to cursed Eutyches, yet disliked the proceedings against Dioscorus, and stiffly maintained that form of confession that was published by Asclepiades, not only as good, but as perfect and sufficient; affirming that two natures were united in Christ without mutation, conversion, commixtion, or confusion; but that being united there are no longer two, but one; so that we may say, Christ consisted of two natures, but we must not say he consisteth in two natures, as Leo and the council. Urging to this purpose that authority of Cyril, that we must not say there are two natures in Christ, but one of the Word incarnate; his words are: "Post unionem, sublata in duo divisione, unam esse credimus Filii φύσιν σεσαρκομένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος. Nestorianus agnoscit Verbum incarnatum, sed dum duas nominat naturas, dividit et sejungit ab invicem."

This opinion prevailed mightily in those times, and continueth in many Christian Churches till this day. For the Christians of Egypt, Ethiopia, Armenia, and the Jacobites of Syria, defend the same, accursing Eutyches as an heretic, and acquitting Dioscorus, yea, honouring him as a good and holy man. Wherefore seeing it is against the law of charity to condemn so many millions of souls to hell, unless they be clearly convinced of heresy, let us more exactly consider what it is they say. First therefore they teach, that Christ is truly God and truly man, that he received his divine nature of his Father before all eternity, his human nature from his mother in the fulness of time. Secondly, they

accurse all them that spoil him of either of these natures. Thirdly, they say that these natures were so united, that there was no confusion, mixtion, or conversion of one of them into another; nor such composition as that a third nature might arise out of them. Fourthly, that the deity and humanity of Christ are not all one. Fifthly, they confess, that it may truly be said, the divinity of Christ is *aliud natura;* that is, a thing of different condition and nature from his humanity. Sixthly, that they are not of the same nature and substance. Seventhly, that their properties are not the same, the one being finite, and the other infinite. So that this is it which they say; that the two natures which were united in Christ remain after the union, without mixtion, confusion, or conversion, in their distinct being of essence and properties: but are become one, first, in the being of subsistence; secondly, in respect of mutual inexistence; and thirdly, in communion of mutual operation, in that the one doth nothing without the communion and concurrence of the other. And in this sort is that saying of Cyril to be understood, when he saith, there are not two natures in Christ, but one nature of the Word incarnate, that is, the two natures united are not two and distinct, but one in subsistence. For the nature of man hath no subsistence but that of the Word communicated unto it, in which they are one. And so it is expounded in the eighth canon of the fifth general council. Leonardus, bishop of Sidonia, reporteth, that when he conferred with the patriarch of the Jacobites to this purpose, he clearly accursed Eutyches confounding the natures of God and man in Christ, but yet affirmed that they are so united, that there is one personated nature, arising out of two natures not personated; professing that they think as the Latins do touching the thing itself, but differ from them in form of words more aptly expressing the thing, as they suppose[1]. Tecla Abyssen saith, the Ethiopians think there is but one nature in Christ: being asked, whether they think there is one nature resulting out of the two natures that were united, he answereth, that they say no such thing; but that they profess simply that there is one nature, and that is the divine nature; meaning, as it seemeth, that

[1] Apud Thomas a Jesu, lib. vii. par. i. c. 14. [p. 387]. Leonardus was papal nuncio, and gave an account of his embassy in MS., where this information is found.

the divine nature only subsisteth in its own subsistence, and that the humanity is drawn into the unity of the same[1]. Thomas a Jesu reporteth[2], that, in the time of Gregory the Thirteenth, there were certain learned men sent into Egypt to win the Christians of those parts to join in communion with the Roman Church. And in the year 1582, a synod was holden at Cairo, where at the third meeting, after six hours' disputation touching the two natures of Christ, all with one consent, by God's happy direction, decreed, as the truth is, touching the thing itself; anathematizing all them that should spoil him of either nature, who being God and man received his deity from the Father, and his humanity from his mother. And though the Christians of Egypt refuse to say there are two natures in Christ, yet they confess him to be God and man. Nicetas saith, the Armenians are Monophysites, and that Immanuel the emperor, in the year 1170, sent Theorianus to confer with their catholic or chief bishop, and to reclaim them, if it might be, from that heresy. The disputation between them he setteth down at large. But Genebrard feareth not to censure him; pronouncing, that both he and Theorianus were deceived, if that be indeed the answer of the Armenian bishop to the objections of Theorianus, as is there put down[3]. For, Nature being sometimes taken for a part, sometimes for the whole consisting of the several parts; as in Aristotle, sometimes it importeth the whole, sometimes the parts of which the whole consisteth; the Armenian bishop said truly, the things whereof Christ consisteth are of different nature, or different in nature; and that they are but one nature in that they are so joined and put together, that they are one in the being of subsistence, that one of them inexisteth in the other, and either of them hath a communion of operation with the other. But he in no sort imagineth that they are so one, as if a compounded nature did arise out of the putting of them together, in such sort as the nature of man is a compound nature arising out of the putting together of the soul and body. So that these Christians are unjustly charged with the heresy of the Monophysites, anciently condemned. For they imagined, that

[1] Apud Thomas a Jesu, lib. vii. p. i. c. 13. [379.]

[2] Thomas a Jesu, lib. vii. c. 6. [p. 362.]

[3] Lib. xvii. Orthodoxiæ, citatus a Genebrardo, Chron. ad annum, 1153.

the two natures united in Christ are become one in the being of essence and property; but these confess them to remain distinct in both these respects, and to become one only in respect of the being of subsistence, mutual existence, and the communion the one hath with the other in action and operation; comparing this union to that of the iron and fire. Neither is it to be marvelled at, that they are thus wronged. For as Genebrard noteth, the Greeks often wrong the Oriental Christians, laying an imputation of heresy upon them out of sinister respects: so that they are to be suspected, as often as writing of the Syrians, Maronites, Ethiopians, Persians, Indians, Georgians, Egyptians, they call them Jacobites or Nestorians. For they that travel into these parts, find them to be orthodox and right believers, differing from other parts of the true Church rather in certain ceremonies than in substance. Having thus cleared these Christians from the imputation of heresy undeservedly laid upon them, let us proceed more particularly to consider of the specialities of religion professed by them, and first of the religion of the Jacobites.

The Jacobites have their name from one Jacobus of Syria, surnamed Zanzalus, living about the year of our Lord 530; who, amongst others that rejected the council of Chalcedon, laboured greatly to persuade the people of Syria to refuse the same; and taught them to believe, that the two natures which were united in Christ, after the union, are become one; not in such sort as Eutyches imagined, who confounded them into one; but as Dioscorus taught, who made them to be one by adunation without mixtion or confusion. That this was his opinion, it is evident by his followers, who honour Dioscorus as a saint, and condemn Eutyches as an heretic. These, as Leonardus bishop of Sidonia reporteth, are dispersed throughout the cities, regions, and towns of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylon; mixed with other sects: and their number is so great, that there are fifty thousand families of them. They chiefly inhabit in Aleppo of Syria, and in Caramit. They have, and long have had, a patriarch of their own, to whom they yield obedience. For we read of the patriarch of the Jacobites in the time of Heraclius the emperor. This patriarch resideth in Caramit, but the patriarchal Church is in the monastery of Zafra, without the city Moradin, in Mesopotamia. They were, before the breach,

subject to the patriarch of Antioch; but when they fell off from other Christians in opinion, they departed from the patriarch that then was, and entitled one of their own making to that honour; supposing the other to be in error, and themselves right. And, even to this day, they account their chief bishop, patriarch of Antioch, calling him always Ignatius: and to him the metropolitan of Jerusalem, whom the Jacobites call the fifth patriarch, is subject; as anciently the bishops of Jerusalem were, before the council of Chalcedon, which took from Antioch the three provinces of Palestina, and assigned them to the bishop of Jerusalem for his patriarchal jurisdiction. Besides the bishop of Jerusalem, who acknowledgeth him for his superior, he hath under him seven archbishops, with many bishops. Let us therefore take a view of their religion.

Touching the two natures in Christ, they believe as I have already delivered. The other particulars of their religion are these. First, they confess their sins to God only, and not to the priest; or but very seldom: so that many communicate without confession. Secondly, they admit not purgatory, nor prayers for the dead. Thirdly, their priests are married. Fourthly, they consecrate the eucharist in unleavened bread. Fifthly, they minister the eucharist in both kinds. Sixthly, they use circumcision even of both sexes. Seventhly, they sign their children before baptism with the sign of the cross imprinted with a burning iron; some in the arm, some in the forehead, that they may be known to be Christians, and that if ever they fall away, they may, by this mark, be known to be apostates: hence grew the false report that they baptized with fire. Eighthly, they add to the *trisagium* this appendix, *qui crucifixus est pro nobis*; and hereupon are charged to attribute the passion of death to the Divinity, and consequently to the whole Trinity; which is made more probable, because they acknowledge but one nature in Christ. Touching this hymn, it is to be noted, that in the time of Theodosius the emperor there was a most fearful earthquake, which specially appeared in Constantinople, where the wall, with fifty-seven towers, fell down; so that the people were forced to go out of the city and to abide in the fields, to avoid the danger of the ruins. While they were crying *Curie eleeson*, a child was suddenly taken up into the air, and upon the prayers of the godly, let down

again to the ground without any hurt; who, when he was come down, told them he had heard a choir of angels singing, ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμῶν, willing them so to sing, that the earthquake might cease. When Proclus the bishop heard this, he commanded the whole congregation to sing; and the earthquake ceased, and immediately the child died. Hereupon Theodosius the emperor commanded this hymn to be sung in all Christian churches throughout the world, so that it grew to be in great request[1]. Petrus Gnapheus, bishop of Antioch, added to this hymn, *qui crucifixus est pro nobis;* and was bitterly reproved by many bishops for so doing. Ephraim, bishop of Antioch, finding that certain were divided from the communion of other Christians in respect of this addition, telleth them, that they of the east understand this hymn of Christ, and so sin not in adding, *qui crucifixus est pro nobis*[2]. But they that inhabit Constantinople and the Nestorian parts, understand it of the Trinity, and therefore endure not this addition, because it is impious to attribute the passion of death to the blessed Trinity. The vicar of the patriarch of the Jacobites being conferred with by some Western Christians about this addition, told them, that they understand this hymn of Christ, and so apply the passion of death on the cross to Christ only, and not to the holy Trinity. Ninthly, they deny the supremacy of the pope.

Next to these in order are the Armenians. These inhabit Asia, in that part which lieth between the mountains Taurus and Caucasus: their country, Armenia, reacheth from Cappadocia to the Caspian Sea. They are subject to two patriarchs: for the greater Armenia is subject to one, and the lesser to another. The patriarch of the greater Armenia resideth in the monastery and church of Ecmeazin, near the city Ervan, in Persia. The families that are subject to this patriarch are more than 150,000, besides exceeding many monasteries, bishops, priests, religious men, and deacons. There are also certain primates, or rather patriarchs of this Armenian nation, in the remotest parts of Persia, and in Constantinople, who though of right they should be subject to this patriarch, yet sometimes acknowledge no such thing. The

[1] Cent. [Magd.] v. p. 1486.

[2] Phot. Bibl. p. 403. [747. ed. 1653.]

patriarch of the lesser Armenia resideth in the city Sis, in Silicia, named at this day Caramania. This patriarch hath under him twenty-four prelates, archbishops, and bishops, besides three hundred priests, and exceeding many deacons and clerks living of alms and their own labour; and about 20,000 families of Christians, which live in cities, villages, and castles of Syria and Silicia; and twenty monasteries, in every of which there are an hundred religious persons. These Armenians, both the greater and the lesser, are lately taken by the Persians from the Turks, and added to the Persian empire. Touching their religion, Nicephorus attributeth unto them sundry damnable heresies concerning the Trinity and the incarnation of Christ[1]; but most untruly, according to Genebrard's observation before mentioned, as may appear by their own Confession extant, sent by the mandate of the catholic of Armenia to the patriarch of Constantinople, not fifty years ago, by which it is evident that they are orthodox in these points. The specialties of their religion are these: first, touching the two natures in Christ, they are of the same opinion with the Jacobites, formerly expressed. Secondly, they admit only three general councils; they reject that of Chalcedon: they condemn Leo bishop of Rome: they accurse Eutyches, and honour Dioscorus. Thirdly, they add to the *Trisagium*, as the Jacobites also do, *qui crucifixus est pro nobis;* but in the same sense as they do, and without any heretical meaning. Fourthly, they affirm, with the Grecians, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father only. Fifthly, they think the souls of the just shall not enjoy heaven happiness till after the resurrection. Sixthly, they deny purgatory, and pray not for the dead. Seventhly, they deny marriage to be a sacrament. Eighthly, they deny the local presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. Ninthly, they deny that the sacraments give grace. Tenth, they think that the eucharist is to be given to all that are baptized, together with their baptism. Eleventh, they mingle not water with wine in the holy eucharist. Twelfth, they condemn the adoration of images. Thirteenth, they admit married priests, and as some say, admit none to be secular priests except they be married; and yet exclude the second marriage.

[1] [Hist. Eccl. xviii. 53.]

Fourteenth, they fast Wednesday and Friday, and on those days eat neither oil nor fish, neither do they drink wine; and they abstain in like sort the whole Lent, save that on Saturday and Sunday they eat butter, cheese, and eggs. Fifteenth, in the Lent they never consecrate but on Saturday and Sunday, which days they fast not. Sixteenth, out of Lent they eat flesh on all Saturdays throughout the year. Seventeenth, from Easter till Whitsuntide they fast not any Friday, but freely eat flesh. Eighteenth, they know not the Ember fast. Nineteenth, they solemnize not Christmas-day on the 25th of December, but fast that day, and instead of it keep the day of the Epiphany as Christ's birth-day, according to an ancient custom[1], as we may read in Epiphanius and Chrysostome. Twentieth, on Sunday before Easter they eat eggs and cheese in the evening, saying, that Christ rose in the evening. Twenty-first, they eat not of such beasts as are judged unclean in the law. Twenty-second, they admit not the sacrament of auricular confession, as it is in the Roman Church; neither of confirmation, nor extreme unction[2]. Twenty-third, they deny the supremacy of the pope. Lastly, they are charged to deny original sin; but, unjustly, as it seemeth[3]; seeing they teach that the children of infidels, not baptized, go to hell with their unbelieving parents.

Having spoken of the Jacobites and Armenians, it remaineth that we come to take a view of the religion and rites of the Cophti and Abyssens, or Ethiopians. The word Cophti is not a name of sect, but of country, importing no more than an Egyptian Christian[4]. The particulars of the religion of the Cophti are these. First, they reject the council of Chalcedon, they condemn Leo bishop of Rome, they accurse

[1] See Casaub. [Rycaut, 420.]

[2] Thomas a Jesu, lib. vii. c. 23.

[3] Thomas a Jesu, lib. vii. c. 17.

[4] ["'Ab oppido Thebaidis celebratissimo utpote quod commune est Ægyptiorum et Arabum emporium vergens ad mare rubrum quod et toti Ægypto nomen dedit, nimirum ut sit *aia guptos*, sive *koptos* vel *τῆς κόπτου*.' Abudacni, p. 4. The same is variously derived by different writers: some conceiving it to be only a corruption of Jacobites; others, *ἀπὸ τοῦ κόπτεσθαι*, from the rite of circumcision being still practised among the people; and Kircher, from *κόπτος*, *incisus*, applied in contempt to the Christians by the Turks. For their errors, see Assemann, iii. 305. 355." ed. Brewer.]

Eutyches, and honour Dioscorus and Jacobus Syrus as holy men; and, touching the incarnation, teach as the Jacobites and Armenians do, refusing to acknowledge two natures in Christ, and yet confessing him to be truly God and truly man, and accursing them that spoil him of either nature, or deny that they remain in him distinct and unconfounded, in being and property, in sort before expressed. Secondly, they add to the *Trisagium*, as the former, but in the same sense, and without all touch of heresy. Thirdly, they permit none to baptize but a priest, in what necessity soever; nor anywhere else but in a church; nor before the fortieth day. Fourthly, they dip the baptized into the water after the manner of the Greeks, but pronouncing the words as the Latins do. Fifthly, they presently anoint the baptized and minister the eucharist to them in both kinds: they sometimes used circumcision, but now have abrogated that custom, at least in Alexandria and Cairo; happily since the synod there holden, whereof I spake before. Sixthly, they minister the sacrament of the eucharist in both kinds; the priests never celebrate without the assistance of the deacons and the subdeacons, and these always communicate with the priest; but the lay people seldom, but only at Easter. Seventhly, they consecrate in leavened bread. Eighthly, they neither minister extreme unction nor the eucharist to the sick. Ninthly, they give the inferior holy orders even to children so soon as they are baptized. Tenth, they acknowlege that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son, yet leave out those words, *and from the Son*, in the creed. Eleventh, they contract marriage in the presence of the priest and in the face of the Church, after the manner of the Roman Church, but with more ceremonies. Twelfth, they sometimes dissolve marriage, and permit a second marriage. Thirteenth, they admit married priests. Fourteenth, they admit not purgatory nor prayer for the dead. Fifteenth, they read in the churches certain fabulous things, as the book called *Secreta Petri*, and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Sixteenth, they deny the supremacy of the pope, and think him no less subject to error than other bishops. They condemn the Latin Church as erring in sundry points of religion, and thereupon refuse to communicate with the Christians of these parts. And though Baronius have a large narration of an embassage,

sent from the Church of Alexandria to Clement the Eighth, wherein is reported, that Mark the patriarch, and with him all the bishops and people subject to that jurisdiction, submitted themselves to the bishop of Rome, as to the head of the Church[1]; yet afterwards it was found to be a mere imposture and cozenage, as Thomas a Jesu reporteth. But Casaubon telleth us, that the patriarch of Alexandria wrote a most pious letter to the now lord archbishop of Canterbury, desiring to join in communion with these Churches of England, &c;[2] which letter under his patriarchical seal is to be seen; besides another letter to the same purpose from a bishop of Asia. To this patriarch are subject all the Christians of Egypt; the Christians of Abassia; that small remainder of Christians that are found about the Bay of Arabia, and in Mount Sinai, eastward; or in Africa, as far as the great Syrtes, westward: and under this jurisdiction the Nubians also were, as some think, before their defection from Christianity; Nubia being a part of Abassia, which was put under the bishop of Alexandria by the Nicene council[3]. The number of Christians in Egypt is greatly diminished: for whereas Burchardus reporteth[4], that in his time, about three hundred and thirty years since, there were found in Cairo alone above forty Christian temples, now there are but three in Cairo, and no more in Alexandria: and the number of Christians is esteemed to be about fifty thousand in that great and populous country, but in Abassia almost innumerable; for, the kingdom of Abassia, subject to that great monarch whom we by error call Prester John; they, John Encoe or Belul, is as large in circuit and compass of ground, as Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; but nothing so populous, nor without mixture of Mahometans and pagans in some parts of it.

The Abassines have a patriarch of their own, whom in their language they call *abuna*, that is, our father. This patriarch was to have the seventh place in sitting in general councils, next after the bishop of Seleucia[5], as appeareth by

[1] Baronius, tom. vi. in fine.

[2] [This will be found at the end of Pagitt's Christianography.]

[3] Concilii Nicen. lib. iii. c. 36.

[4] Descrip. Terræ Sanctæ, pars ii. c. 3.

[5] Concil. Nicen. Lib. III. can. 36.

the Arabic book of the Nicene Council, translated by Pisanus; but he is subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, and being elected by the Abassine monks of St Anthony's order residing at Jerusalem, he is consecrated and confirmed by him, and so sent to Abassia. And, answerably hereunto, in their Liturgy[1], they pray for the patriarch of Alexandria before their own patriarch, terming him the prince of their archbishops. Wherefore let us descend to take a view of their religion. First, touching the holy Trinity, they are orthodox, professing as we do. Concerning the incarnation of the Son of God, they think as the Jacobites, Armenians, and Egyptians before mentioned; teaching that two natures were united in Christ, but that after the union they are become one, not by mixtion, conversion, confusion, or such a composition as that a third should arise and result out of them, but by coadunation only, in sort before expressed. So that they may be said to be one nature not in the being of essence or property, which cannot be conceived without confusion; but in respect of the being of subsistence, the mutual inexistence of one of them in another, and the communion of action or operation, one of them doing nothing without the other[2]. Thirdly, they reject the council of Chalcedon; they condemn Leo bishop of Rome; they accurse Eutyches, and honour Dioscorus and Jacobus his disciple. Fourthly, they are baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in such sort as other Christians are; but they are also circumcised, both male and female; which may seem to cut them off from the fellowship of true Christians, and the hope of salvation, according to that of the apostle; "If ye be circumcised, ye are fallen from grace, and Christ shall profit you nothing."

For the clearing of this point, Thomas a Jesu[3] delivereth these propositions. First, that circumcision and other legal observations were so abrogated after the promulgation of the Gospel, that the continuing of them became not only a dead thing and of no force, but deadly also: so that Cerinthus and Ebion, thinking otherwise, were condemned as heretics. Secondly, that some legal observations, though

[1] Liturg. Æthiop. Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. IV.

[2] Tecla Abiss. apud Thom. a Jesu, lib. 7, c. 13.

[3] Lib. 7, c. 12.

not as legal, may be, nay are, retained and continued amongst Catholic Christians. For the better understanding of this proposition, he noteth, that legal and ceremonial things may be observed four ways. First, as they are legal; that is, with an intention to keep the law, and to do as the law prescribeth: and in this sort Christ submitted himself to be circumcised. Secondly, that things prescribed or forbidden in the ceremonial law may be done or omitted, not only in respect of obedience to the law, but as figuring the coming of Christ, or as figures of Christ to come; as Thomas Aquinas sheweth[1]: so the holy fathers that lived before Christ kept this observation. Thirdly, we may do or omit such things as are commanded or forbidden in the ceremonial law, neither as figures of Christ to come, nor as being bound by the law so to do, or not to do, but only to make it known that such laws were not evil, but of God; howsoever they are now no longer to have any binding force: thus the Christians after the resurrection and ascension of Christ, before the full promulgation of the Gospel, retained circumcision for a time, that they might bury the Synagogue with honour. Fourthly, such things may be done or omitted as the law forbiddeth or prescribeth, *materialiter sine ulla formalitate vel respectu ad legem veterem;* that is, though the same thing be done that is there prescribed, yet it is not done as there prescribed, but for other ends: as we keep the Feast of Pentecost which the Jews observed, but not because it was prescribed in the law, nor for the same reasons for which they kept it;

[1] ["Judicialia præcepta non habuerunt perpetuam obligationem sed sunt evacuata per adventum Christi, aliter tamen quam cæremonialia: nam cæremonialia adeo sunt evacuata, ut non solum sint mortua sed etiam mortifera observantibus post Christum. Præcepta autem judicialia sunt quidem mortua quia non habent vim obligandi, non tamen sunt mortifera.—Et hujus differentiæ ratio potest accipi ex præmissis. Dictum est enim quod præcepta cæremonialia sunt figuralia primo et per se, tanquam instituta principaliter ad figuranda Christi mysteria, ut futura, et ideo ipsa observatio eorum præjudicat fidei veritati secundum quam confitemur illa mysteria jam esse completa. Præcepta autem judicialia non sunt instituta ad figurandum sed ad disponendum statum illius populi qui ordinabatur ad Christum: [et] ipsa eorum observatio absolute non præjudicat fidei veritati sed intentio observandi tanquam ex obligatione legis."] Prima 2^dæ q. 104. Art. 3.

for it was therefore a solemn day with them, because as on that day the law was given unto them upon Mount Sinai; but with us, because on that day the law of the Spirit and life was given. So in like sort some Christians consecrate in unleavened bread; yet are they not to be condemned as Jewish, seeing the reasons of their observation are very different from those motives the Jews had. So that to omit or do such things as are forbidden or commanded in the ceremonial law, *materialiter tantum*, that is, without any of the former respects, is undoubtedly lawful: as if a man should be circumcised; or should abstain from swine's flesh for physical considerations, or keep Saturday holy, as many Christians do: but to omit or do such things as are forbidden or prescribed in the ceremonial law, because they are there forbidden or prescribed, or as figures of Christ, is heretical.

Wherefore let us see in what sort the Abyssens use circumcision. Zaga Zabo professeth[1] that they use it only as an ancient observation of their country, which they had received before they became Christians, even from the time that the queen of Sheba went to see Solomon; and that they retain it only for the honour of their nation, that they may thereby shew that they are of the stock of David. And indeed Herodotus, speaking of certain nations that were circumcised before the coming of Christ, amongst the rest he numbereth the Ethiopians[2]; which being so, I see not why we should censure them as heretics for this observation.

William Reynolds, speaking of the Abyssens, hath these words[3]: "The Abyssens Christianly, and as we that believe as Christians should, do baptize their infants; and that they may shew from how noble a stock they are come, circumcise them also, but not as if circumcision were of any force, or a man might put any trust in it as the Jews do; which being so, I would no more condemn them in respect of circumcision, than a man that should abstain from swine's flesh which was forbidden by the law, upon the advice of his physician only." Cajetan and Bartholomæus de Medina think they sin not in retaining this observation; but, supposing it to be lawful, whether it be fit they should be tolerated still so to do,

[1] Apud Damian. a Goes, p. 69.

[2] [Herod. II. 104.]

[3] Quoted by Thomas a Jesu, VII. 12.

many taking offence at it. I had rather, saith Cajetan, hear the Church speak, than other particular authors. Some impute to them that they are not circumcised only or principally for the causes before expressed, but in imitation of Christ, and consequently to fulfil the law, which was the end of circumcision; and thereupon condemn them as observers of the ceremonial law. But first, it will hardly be proved, as I think, that they use circumcision in imitation of Christ's circumcision. And secondly, it will not follow, if it be so, that they are circumcised to the same end that he was; but only that they desire to be like unto him in the outward act, and to have that done unto them in the honour of him. So that I rather incline to the opinion of Cajetan and Bartholomæus de Medina, who acquit them, than to that of Soto and others, that condemn them, upon this supposal.

The particular points of their religion are these: First, they think that the soul is *ex traduce*. Secondly, they use the same form of words in baptizing that the Latins do; saying, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Thirdly, none baptizeth with them but the priest, or in his absence the deacon. Fourthly, their males are not baptized till the fortieth day, their females till the eightieth; till which time the mother is not purified, nor entereth into the church, but if there be danger of death they are baptized sooner; but they must not suck the breasts of the mother until she be purified[1]. They are unjustly charged, that they baptize with fire, for there is none amongst them that do so; but in some provinces they sign themselves in the forehead[2], either that they may differ from the Mahometans, or for the cure of diseases incident to the eyes. Fifthly, on twelfth-day, in memory of the baptism of Christ, they go forth in great multitudes to the river, and, after many prayers said by the priests, they put themselves into the water; but no man is newly baptized. Sixthly, they think that the infants of believing parents are sanctified in the womb, as Jeremy and John the Baptist were; and therefore, if they die without baptism, dare not pronounce of them as the Romanists do. Seventhly, they deny confirmation and extreme unction to be sacraments. Eighthly, touching the eucharist, they consecrate ordinarily in un-

[1] Zaga Zabo in Damianus a Goes, p. 64. [2] Novacula.

leavened bread; but on Maundy Thursday in unleavened bread and in wine, or the juice of raisins moistened in water and so pressed out. They minister the communion in both kinds to all, both clergymen and laymen. The priest ministereth the bread, and the deacon the wine in a spoon. They give this sacrament to infants when they are baptized, in this sort: the priest dippeth his finger into the consecrated wine, and putteth it into the mouth of the child. They have neither elevation, nor reservation, nor circumgestation, as the Roman Church hath. They all communicate twice every week, but the sacrament is never ministered in private houses, no not to the patriarch or emperor himself. Ninthly, touching purgatory, they believe that souls after death are detained in a certain place, named in their tongue *Mecan aaraft, id est, locus alleviationis*, that is, a place of refreshing: in which, the souls of such as die not having repented of their former sins in such full and perfect sort as was fitting, are detained: and so, whether the souls of good men do enjoy the vision of God before the resurrection, they resolve not. Tenthly, they say no masses of the dead: they bury them with crosses and prayers, but specially they use the beginning of St. John's Gospel; the day following they give alms, and so a certain number of days; and make feasts also. Eleventh, they grant no indulgences. Twelfth, they have no cases reserved. Thirteenth, they believe that the saints do intercede for us; they pray unto them: they have painted images, but none molten or carved; they much esteem them in respect of those holy ones they represent, and make sweet perfumes before them. Fourteenth, their priests receive no tithes, but they have lands on which they live. Fifteenth, their bishops and priests are married, but may not marry a second wife and continue in those degrees and orders, unless the patriarch dispense with them. Sixteenth, they think it unlawful to fast on Saturday or Sunday, and urge to that purpose the Canon of the apostles. Seventeenth, they keep Saturday holy as well as Sunday, following the ancient custom of the East Church; they eat flesh on that day throughout the whole year, except only in Lent; and in some provinces they eat flesh in that day even in the Lent also. Eighteenth, they fast Wednesdays and Fridays till the sunsetting, and celebrate not on those days till the evening.

Nineteenth, between Easter and Whitsuntide they eat flesh freely on those days. Twentieth, they abstain from things strangled and blood, observing the Canon of the Apostles in so doing, as they suppose: and besides, forbear to eat of such kinds of meat as were forbidden by Moses' law. Twenty-first, the emperor hath a supreme authority in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, though the patriarch also exercises a spiritual jurisdiction. Twenty-second, they deny the supremacy of the Roman bishop, but they yield a primacy unto him, acknowledging him to be the first amongst bishops.

Having spoken of the Grecians, Assyrians, and supposed Monophysites, it remaineth that we come in the last place to treat of the Maronites. Touching the name, Baronius sheweth, that it was not from any heretic named Maron, but that there was a holy man so named, and that in honour of him a certain monastery was founded, which was named the monastery of St Maron, and that all the monks of that monastery were named Maronites. These in time, as it may be thought, joined themselves to the Monophysites formerly described, though happily not without some little difference; and hence all the Christians that professed to believe so as these did, were named Maronites. They have a patriarch of their own who claimeth to be patriarch of Antioch: he resideth in a monastery some twenty-five miles from Tripolis, in Syria: he hath under him some eight or nine suffragan bishops. These Maronites inhabit Mount Libanus; and some of them in Damascus, Aleppo, and some parts of Cyprus[1]. Mount Libanus is of such extent, that it is in compass seven hundred miles: it hath no cities, but villages, which are neither few nor small. Within this compass none inhabit but Christians, though under the Turk; for they redeem it at a high rate, and pay an intolerable tribute to live without mixture of Mahometans.

The particulars of their religion are these. First, they believe that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father only. Secondly, they bless and consecrate the water so often as any are to be baptized; and not, as the Roman Church, on the Saturday before Easter only, for the whole year. The reason of which observation is, for that at Easter and at Whitsuntide only, in the primitive Church, they minis-

[1] [And also Egypt. Muller, p. 17.]

tered baptism; which they did, because in baptism men are mortified to sin and quickened in the life of grace by virtue of Christ's death, resurrection, and giving of the Spirit; all which things are commemorated in these solemnities. Thirdly, they never baptize males and females together, lest they should contract a kind of affinity. Fourthly, none baptizeth with them, in what necessity soever, but a priest or deacon. Fifthly, they require not the intention of the minister, but think the faith of the Church sufficeth. Sixthly, they baptize not a male till the fortieth day, nor a female till the eightieth, in respect of the impurity of the mother, which they think continueth so long. Seventhly, they seek no confirmation from the bishop, nor have any other anointing than that which is used in baptism. Eighthly, they consecrate the eucharist in unleavened bread in a massy loaf, out of which they give a piece to every communicant. Ninthly, they give the sacraments to laymen, in both kinds. Tenth, they celebrate but once in one day, upon one and the same altar. Eleventh, they think the person of the Holy Ghost to be in the holy oil, in such sort as the person of Christ is in the eucharist. Twelfth, they think that the eucharist received into the mouth, goeth not into the stomach, but presently diffuseth itself through all the members of the body. Thirteenth, on fasting days they celebrate not till the evening, which custom Thomas a Jesu saith, is not to be altered, affirming, that it was most ancient in the Church of God; the council of Cabilon, related in the decrees[1], prescribing that they should celebrate the Sacrament, in the Ember fasts, in the evening; and, on the Saturday before Easter, in the beginning of a night. "And although," saith he, "the Church yielding to our infirmity, permit the Latins to do otherwise, yet where the old custom may be kept, it is not only not to be taken away, but much to be commended; that men when they fast may put it off as long as may be before they eat anything." In former times they did not eat in Lent till the evening, as appeareth by the council formerly mentioned; which custom continued till the time of Thomas Aquinas, for he saith, they did eat nothing in his time on their fasting days till the ninth hour, in which hour Christ gave up the ghost. Fourteenth, they think it not

[1] De Cons. Dist. 1. can. *Solent.* [Cabilon, i. e. Chalon.]

lawful to carry the eucharist to them that are sick. Fifteenth, touching marriage, they have these opinions: first, they think the state of marriage is not inferior to virginity: secondly, they think if the son contract without consent of the father, the father may void the marriage, and so likewise the father of the wife: thirdly, they think the bond of marriage is dissolved by adultery, and that the parties separated may marry again: fourthly, they permit not the father and the son to marry with the mother and the daughter, nor two brethren with two sisters: fifthly, they dislike the marriage of widows of sixty years of age: sixthly, they allow not the fourth marriage, whereas Jerome saith, "non damno bigamos imo nec trigamos, ac si dici potest, octogamos;" that is, "I dare not condemn them that marry the second, third, or eighth time." Sixteenth, touching Orders: first, they ordain children of five or six years of age deacons; second, no man is ordained a priest or deacon amongst them, except he have first contracted matrimony, and that with a virgin, not with a widow or woman dishonoured: but neither of these is permitted to marry a second wife. Seventeenth, they think it unlawful to eat of things strangled, or blood. Eighteenth, they judge it unlawful to fast Saturday or Sunday. Lastly, they teach, that no man entereth into the kingdom of heaven until the general judgment. These Maronites are now said to be joined in communion with the Church of Rome, since the time of Clement the Eighth: but how far forth they have changed either their opinions, or their rites and ceremonies, it doth not appear. These only and the Indians, of all the Christians of the Orient, hold communion with the Church of Rome.

Out of all that which hath been said, two things are observable. First, that, by the merciful goodness of God, all these different sort of Christians, though distracted and dissevered, by reason of diversity of ceremonies and outward observations, different manner of delivering certain points of faith, mistaking one another, or variety in opinion touching things not fundamental, do yet agree in one substance of faith, and are so far forth orthodox, that they retain a saving profession of all divine verities absolutely necessary to salvation, and are all members of the true Catholic Church

of Christ. The second, that in all the principal controversies touching matters of religion between the papists and those of the reformed Churches, they give testimony of the truth of that we profess. For, first, they all deny and impugn that supreme universality of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which the bishop of Rome claimeth. Secondly, they think him subject to error, as all other bishops are. Thirdly, they deny that he hath any power to dispose the principalities and kingdoms of the world, or depose kings. Fourthly, they acknowledge all righteousness to be imperfect, and that it is not safe to trust thereunto, but to the mere mercy and goodness of God. Fifthly, they admit not the merit of congruence, condignity, nor works of supererogation. Sixthly, they teach not the doctrine of satisfactions, as the Romanists do. Seventhly, they believe not purgatory, neither pray to deliver men out of temporal punishments after this life. Eighthly, they reject the doctrine of the Romanists touching indulgences and pardons. Ninthly, they believe not there are seven sacraments. Tenth, they omit many ceremonies in baptism which the Roman Church useth, as spittle, &c. Eleventh, they have no private masses. Twelfth, they minister the communion in both kinds to all communicants. Thirteenth, they believe not transubstantiation, nor the new real sacrificing of Christ. Fourteenth, they have the divine service in the vulgar tongue. Fifteenth, their priests are married, and though they permit them not to marry a second wife without special dispensation, yet if any do, they do not void nor dissolve the marriage. Sixteenth, they make no image of God. Seventeenth, they have no massy images, but pictures only. Eighteenth, they think that, properly, God only is to be invocated; and howsoever they have a kind of invocation of saints, yet they think that God only heareth them, and not the saints.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE HARSH AND UNADVISED CENSURE OF THE ROMANISTS, CONDEMNING ALL THESE CHURCHES AS SCHISMATICAL AND HERETICAL.

ALL these Churches and societies of Christians, in number many, in extent large, in multitudes of men and people huge and great, in continuance most ancient, in defence of the Christian faith constant and undaunted (though enduring the malice and force of cruel, bloody, and potent enemies), the bishop of Rome, with his adherents, judgeth to be heretics, or at least schismatics, and consequently, to have no hope of eternal salvation; for that it is, on the peril of everlasting damnation, imposed upon every soul to bow and do reverence at the sight of his triple crown, to kiss his sacred feet, and to believe nothing more nor longer, than His Holiness shall decree and define. And therefore, the most part of the Christian world is plunged into hell, abandoned into utter darkness, and reserved in chains unto the judgment of the last day[1]; ever since that schismatical act of that base, ignoble, and contemptible council of six hundred bishops assembled at Chalcedon; who, forgetting themselves, presumed to equal another bishop to the peerless and incomparable Vicar of Christ, his Vicegerent-general on earth; in comparison of whose greatness, all other episcopal and patriarchical dignity, regal or imperial majesty, is no more than the light of a candle at midday, when the sun shineth in strength[2]. But because we have not received the mark of this antichrist and child of perdition in our foreheads, nor sworn to take the foam of his impure mouth and froth of his words of blasphemy, wherein he extolleth himself above all that is named God, for oracles and infallible certainty and

[1] "In Concilio II [generali non fuit] Episcopus Constantinopolitanus [æquatus Romano sed solum] fuit antepositus Alexandrino et Antiocheno.—In Concilio Chalcedonensi act. 6, ad istum canonem addiderunt, oportere eum paria habere privilegia cum Romano pontifice, sed cum a legatis ponteficiis reclamatum esset, ausi non sunt mentionem facere parium privilegiorum." Bellarm. I. Tom. Contro. generali de pontifice, ii. 18.

[2] Vid. Gesta Innocentii, Vol. I. 29, ed. 1632.

the rule of our faith; let us therefore see what that heresy and schism is, that cutteth off from the company of right believers, in such sort, that, whosoever is convinced of it is thereby clearly without all hope of eternal life.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE NATURE OF HERESY; OF THE DIVERS KINDS OF THINGS WHEREIN MEN ERR; AND WHAT PERTINACY IT IS THAT MAKETH AN HERETIC.

HERESY is not every error, but error in matter of faith: nor every error in matter of faith; (for neither Jews nor Pagans are said to be heretics, though they err most damnably in those things which every one that will be saved must believe, and with all the malice, fury, and rage that can be imagined, impugn the Christian faith and verity); but it is the error of such as by some kind of profession have been Christians: so that only such as, by profession being Christians, depart from the truth of Christian religion, are named heretics[1].

These are of two sorts: for there are *hæretici scientes*, and there are *hæretici nescientes;* that is, there are some that are wittingly heretics, some unwittingly[2]. For though

[1] Occam Dial. lib. iii. part 1. cap. 2, 3. ["'Hereticus est vere baptizatus vel pro baptizato se gerens pertinaciter dubitans vel errans contra Catholicam veritatem.' This is the proper definition of the term heretic in Ocham's acceptation; who makes five distinctions of the word, as generally used. 1. Every excommunicated person, according to the Gloss.: *omnis excommunicatus dicitur hereticus.* 2. Every perverter of things sacred, as simoniacal persons. 3. Every one who, as the Jews or the Turk, believes the Christian faith to be false or fictitious. 4. Every baptized person who obstinately errs against the truth. 5. Every person who pertinaciously adheres to any error savouring of heretical pravity." ed. Brewer.]

[2] Occam Dial. lib. iv. part 1. cap. 2. ("Secundum Augustinum quidam est hereticus scienter; quidam vero inscienter: ita quidam est pertinax scienter, ille sc. qui putat fidem Christianam, per aliquam sui partem esse falsam: et quidam est pertinax nescienter, qui sc. credit

no man do, or can, wittingly err, or be deceived, yet a man may wittingly be a heretic: and though no man think that to be true which he knoweth to be false, or that to be false which he knoweth to be true, which were wittingly to err; yet a man may forsake that which he knoweth to be the profession of Christians, judge it erroneous, false, and impious, and choose some other kind of religion; which is, wittingly to be a heretic: such are apostates, which depart from that which they know to be the Christian faith. Heretics unwittingly, are such as think that they do most firmly cleave to the doctrine of Christ, his blessed apostles, and holy Church, and will not be induced to think the whole profession of Christians to be false and erroneous, as do apostates; yet do err in many particulars that pertain to the faith, and think that to be the only true Christian profession which indeed is not; as did the Marcionites, Manichees, and the rest of that sort.

The things that pertain to the Christian faith and religion are of two sorts. For there are some things *explicite*, some things *implicite credenda;* that is, there are some things that must be particularly and expressly known and believed; as that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost God; and yet there are not three Gods, but one God: and some other, which though all men at all times be not bound upon the peril of damnation to know and believe expressly, yet whosoever will be saved must believe them at

in genere totam fidem Christianam esse veram, in speciali tamen alicui errori pertinaciter contra fidem adhæret."

"De nesciente heretico distinguitur. Quidam enim sunt, vel esse possunt, nescienter heretici: quia scienter et explicite arbitrantur aliquas assertiones, sub forma propria scriptas, in Scriptura divina ad fidem Christianam nullatenus pertinere: tales fuerunt Manichæi.—Quidam autem sunt nescienter heretici qui assertionem nullam, pertinentem ad fidem Christianam, sub propria forma scriptam, in Scriptura divina repertam, dubitant esse veram; quia totam Scripturam divinam recipiunt: sed tamen aliquas assertiones sequentes ex illis (propter hoc quia aliter intelligunt Scripturas divinas quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat a quo sumptæ sunt) non credunt esse veras, quia non putant quæ sequuntur ex illis: quia autem credunt irrevocabiliter contrarias assertiones esse veras, ideo heretici sunt censendi; qui tamen in genere credunt totam fidem Christianam esse veram." Ib. cap. 3. Compare a similar statement in Tract i. part. II. fol. clxxii. cap. 10.]

least *implicite* and in generality; as that Joseph, Mary, and Jesus fled into Egypt[1].

Men are bound to know and believe things, particularly and expressly; either in respect of their office and standing in the Church of God; in which consideration the pastors and guides of the Church, who are to teach others, are bound to know many things, which others of more private condition are not: or else, for that they are particularly offered to their consideration: and so a layman, finding it written in the Scripture, that Onesimus was a fugitive servant, and recommended to Philemon his master, by Paul, is bound particularly to believe it, which a great bishop not observing, or not remembering, is not: or, lastly, because they do essentially and directly concern the matter of our salvation. He that erreth in those things which every one is bound particularly to believe, because they do essentially and directly

[1] Occam. Dial. Tract. i. part II. cap. 10. fol. lxxi. ["Duæ sunt differentiæ credendorum. Quædam enim sunt credenda explicite; et quædam sunt credenda implicite. Patet aperte; quia nullus Christianus debet totam fidem Christianam ignorare; igitur sibi non sufficit solummodo credere fidem Christianam esse veram: sed oportet quod aliquid explicite credat quod ad fidem pertinet Christianam.—Quod vero aliqua sunt credenda implicite est manifestum: nam quilibet Catholicus tenetur credere totam Scripturam divinam quam tamen ignorat; et ita non possunt ea credere explicite: sufficit igitur eis quod credat eam implicite.—Secundo notandum quæ sunt illa quæ sunt credenda explicite: circa quod notandum quod aliqua sunt credenda ab omnibus Christianis de communi lege; quia omnes Christiani de communi lege ea credere tenentur explicite. Alia vero credenda non sunt ab omnibus explicite de necessitate, sed ab aliquibus tantum. Prima credenda explicite sunt illa quæ sunt apud omnes Catholicos: cujusmodi sunt articuli fidei contenti in *Credo*, etc. Præter quos etiam sunt nonnulla alia quæ omnes tenentur credere, explicite, licet in dictis articulis non contineantur.—Aliqua vero sunt credenda explicite non ab omnibus, quia non omnes Catholici tenentur credere ea explicite, sed illi sc. qui sciunt ipsa in Scriptura divina aut in doctrina Ecclesiæ contineri.—Quædam [etiam] sunt quæ de necessitate spectant ad officium aliquorum; sicut qui habent officium prædicationis aliqua tenentur credere explicite ad quæ alii non tenentur: quædam vero sunt ab aliquibus credenda explicite et non ab omnibus, quia ad aliquorum pervenit notitiam quod in Scriptura divina aut in doctrina universalis Ecclesiæ explicite continentur.—Sic potest contingere quod laicus tenetur aliquid explicite credere ad quod credendum explicite episcopus minime tenetur—si non teneret in memoria."]

concern the matter of our salvation, is without any further inquiry to be pronounced a heretic[1].

Neither need we to ask, whether he join obstinacy to his error, for the very error itself is damnable: as if a man shall deny Christ to be the Son of God, coessential, coequal, and coeternal with his Father; or, that we have remission of sins by the effusion of his blood. But, other things that do not so nearly and directly touch the substance of Christian faith, and which a man is not bound upon the peril of damnation expressly to know and believe, but it sufficeth if he believe them *implicite*, and *in præparatione animi;* (that is, if he carry a mind prepared, and ready to yield assent unto them, if once it shall appear that they are included in, and by neccessary consequence to be deduced from, those things which expressly he doth and must believe; as, that Moses saw the promised land, but entered not into it[2]; or that the queen of the South came from the uttermost ends of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon[3];) a man may be ignorant of, and be deceived in them, and yet without all touch of heresy or peril of damnation, unless he add pertinacity unto error. Neither doth every pertinacy joined with errors in this kind make them heresies; (for, all they are in some degree to be judged pertinacious, that neglect the censure and judgment of them whom they should reverence and regard, and stand in defence of those errors, which, if they had used that careful diligence which they should in searching out the truth, they had not fallen into); but that only, when men erring in things of this kind, they are so strongly carried by the streams of mispersuasion, that rather than they will alter their opinion, or disclaim their error, they will deny some part of that, which, every one that will be saved must know and believe.

So, in the beginning, Nestorius did not err touching the unity of Christ's person in the diversity of the natures of God and man; but only disliked that Mary should be called the

[1] "*Dubius in fide est* [Hereticus et] *infidelis:* Quod utique veritatem habet, dum quis illa dubitat quæ per eruditionem Sacræ Scripturæ certa tenetur et explicita fide tenere: neque enim generalis sufficeret credulitas in multis." Gers. p. 3, lib. iv. de Consolat. prosa I. [Vol. I. 170.]

[2] Deut. xxxiv. 4. [3] 1 Kings x.

Mother of God; which form of speaking, when some demonstrated to be very fitting and unavoidable if Christ were God and man in the unity of the same person, he chose rather to deny the unity of Christ's person, than to acknowledge his temerity and rashness in reproving that form of speech which the use of the Church had anciently received and allowed[1].

CHAPTER IV.

OF THOSE THINGS WHICH EVERY ONE IS BOUND EXPRESSLY TO KNOW AND BELIEVE; AND WHEREIN NO MAN CAN ERR WITHOUT NOTE OF HERESY.

SEEING then the things which Christian men are bound to believe are of so different sort and kind, let us see which are those that do so nearly touch the very life and being of the Christian faith and religion, that every one is bound particularly and expressly to know and believe them upon peril of eternal damnation. They may most aptly be reduced to these principal heads.

First, concerning God, whom to know is eternal life, we must believe and acknowledge the unity of an infinite, incomprehensible, and eternal essence, full of righteousness, goodness, mercy, and truth: the Trinity of persons subsisting in the same essence, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, coessential, coeternal, and coequal; the Father not created nor begotten; the Son not created, but begotten; the Holy Ghost not created, nor begotten; but proceeding.

Secondly, we must know and believe, that God made all things of nothing, that in them he might manifest his wisdom, power, and goodness; that he made men and angels capable of supernatural blessedness, consisting in the vision and enjoying of himself; that he gave them abilities to attain thereunto, and laws to guide them in the ways that lead unto it; that nothing was made evil in the beginning; that all evil entered into the world by the voluntary aversion of men and angels from God their Creator; that the sin of

[1] Socrat. vii. 32.

angels was not general, but that some fell, and others continued in their first estate; that the sin of those angels that fell is irremissible, and their fall irrecoverable; that these are become devils and spirits of error, seeking the destruction of the sons of men; that by the mispersuasion of these lying spirits, the first man that ever was in the world fell from God by sinful disobedience and apostacy; that the sin of the first man is derived to all his posterity, not by imitation only, but by propagation and descent, subjecting all to curse and malediction, yet not without possibility and hope of merciful deliverance.

Thirdly, we must believe, that for the working of this deliverance, the Son of God assumed the nature of man into the unity of his divine person: so that he subsisteth in the nature of God and man, without all corruption, confusion, or conversion of one of them into another: that in the nature of man thus assumed, he suffered death; but being God, could not be holden of it; but rose again, and triumphantly ascended into heaven: that he satisfied the wrath of his Father; obtained for us remission of sins past, the grace of repentant conversion, and a new conversation, joined with assured hope, desire, and expectation of eternal happiness.

Fourthly, we must constantly believe, that God doth call and gather to himself, out of the manifold confusions of erring, ignorant, and wretched men, whom he pleaseth, to be partakers of these precious benefits of eternal salvation, the happy number and joyful society of whom we name the Church of God, whether they were before, or since the manifestation of Christ the Son of God in our flesh. For, both had the same faith, hope, and spirit of adoption, whereby they were sealed unto eternal life; though there be a great difference in the degree and measure of knowledge, and the excellency of the means which God hath vouchsafed the one more than the other.

Fifthly, we must know and believe, that for the publishing of this joyful deliverance, and the communicating of the benefits of the same, the Son of God committed to those his followers, whom he chose to be witnesses of all the things he did and suffered, not only the word of reconciliation, but also the dispensation of sacred and sacramental assurances of his love, set means of his gracious working; that those first

messengers, whom he sent with immediate commission, were infallibly led into all truth, and left unto posterities that sum of Christian doctrine that must for ever be the rule of our faith; that these blessed messengers of so good and happy tidings departing hence, left the ministry of reconciliation to those whom they appointed to succeed them in the work so happily begun by them.

Lastly, we must know and be assuredly persuaded, that seeing the renovation of our spirits and minds is not perfect, and the redemption of our bodies still remaining corruptible, is not yet; therefore God hath appointed a time when Christ his Son shall return again, raise up the dead, and give eternal life to all that, with repentant sorrow, turn from their evil and wicked ways, while it is yet the accepted time and day of salvation; and contrariwise, cast out into utter darkness, and into the fire that never shall be quenched, all those that neglect and despise so great salvation.

That all these things, and these only, do directly concern the matter of eternal salvation, is evidently proved by unanswerable demonstration. For how should they attain everlasting happiness that know not God, the original cause and end of all things, the subject, matter, and cause of all happiness; that know not of whom they were created, of what sort, to what, whereof capable, and how enabled to it; how far they are fallen from that they originally were, and the hope of that which they were made to be; whence are those evils that make them miserable, and when the deliverance from them is to be looked for; by whom it is wrought; what the benefits of it are, the means whereby they are communicated, to whom, and what shall be the end both of them that partake, and partake not in them? We see then that all these things, and these only, essentially and directly touch the matter of our eternal salvation.

Other things there are that attend on them, as consequents deduced from them, or some way appertaining to them; whereof some are of that sort, that a man cannot rightly be persuaded of these, but he must needs see the necessary consequence and deduction of them from these, if they be propounded unto him. As, that there are two wills in Christ; that there is no salvation, remission of sins, or hope of eternal life, out of the Church; that the matrimonial society

of man and wife is not impure, as the Marcionites, Tatianus, and others supposed[1]; nor any kind of meats to be rejected as unclean by nature, as the Manichees and some other heretics fondly and impiously dreamed. Other things there are that are not so clearly deduced from those indubitate principles of our Christian faith: as namely, concerning the place of the fathers' rest before the coming of our Saviour Christ; concerning the local descending of Christ into the hell of the damned.

In the first sort of things, which are the principles that make the rule of faith, a man cannot be ignorant and be saved. In the second, which are so clearly deduced from those principles, that, whoso advisedly considereth them, cannot but see their consequence from them and dependence of them, a man cannot err and be saved; because if he believe those things which every one that will be saved must particularly know and believe, he cannot err in these. The third a man may be ignorant of, and err in them without danger of damnation, if error be not joined with pertinacy.

The principal grounds of Christian doctrine above mentioned are the whole platform of all Christian religion; the rule of faith so often mentioned by the ancient; by the measure of which all the holy fathers, bishops, and pastors of the Church made their sermons, commentaries, and interpretations of Scripture. This rule (every part whereof is proved so nearly to concern all them that look for salvation) we make the rule to try all doctrines by; and not such platforms of doctrine, as every sectmaster, by himself, can deduce out of the Scriptures, understood according to his own private fancy; as the Romanists falsely charge us[2]. This rule is delivered by Tertullian[3], Irenæus[4], and other of the fathers: and, with addition of conclusions most easily, clearly, and unavoidably deduced hence, by Theodoret in his *Epitome Dogmatum.*

[1] Theodoret. in Epitome decretorum divinorum. [cap. 24, 25. Vol. VI. 460.] Augustin. de moribus Manicheorum, ii. 15. Tertul. contra Marcion. lib. i. [1.]

[2] Annot. in Rom. xii.

[3] De præscriptionibus adversus hæreticos [§ 13. sq.] et adversus Praxean. [§ 21. sq.]

[4] Irenæus, lib. i. [cap. 22=19.]

CHAPTER V.

OF THE NATURE OF SCHISM, AND THE KINDS OF IT; AND, THAT IT IN NO WAY APPEARETH THAT THE CHURCHES OF GREECE, ETC. ARE HERETICAL OR IN DAMNABLE SCHISM.

OUT of this which hath been delivered, it is easy to discern what is heresy, and what errors they are that exclude from possibility of salvation. It remaineth to speak of schism, and the kind and degrees of it. Schism is a breach of the unity of the Church. The unity of the Church consisteth in three things: first, the subjection of people to their lawful pastors; secondly, the connexion and communion which many particular Churches and the pastors of them have among themselves; thirdly, in holding the same rule of faith. The unity of each particular Church depends of the unity of the pastor, who is one to whom an eminent and peculiar power is given, and whom all must obey[1]. In respect of this first kind of unity, consisting in the subjection of each people, or portion of the flock of Christ, to their lawful pastors; if they who should obey this one pastor, as being in the stead and place of Christ, do either wholly withdraw themselves, refusing to be subject to any ministry; like Core and his accomplices[2], pretending that all the people of God are holy, and that the guides of the Church take too much upon them: or, when one is elected, do set up another against him; and, forsaking the right, cleave to him that hath no right; this is the first kind of schism.

Secondly, because there must be an unity[3], not only

[1] "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesia efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes." Hieronym. contra Luciferianos. [IV. ii. 295.]

[2] Numb. xvi. 1, 2, 3.

[3] Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ. "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur. Avelle radium solis a corpore, divisionem lucis unitas non capit. Ab arbore frange ramum, fractus germinare non poterit. A fonte præcide rivum, præcisus arescit. Sic et Ecclesia Domini luce perfusa per orbem totum radios suos porrigit, unum tamen lumen est, quod ubique diffunditur, nec unitas corporis separatur.—Quisquis ab Ecclesia segregatus adul-

among the parts of each particular Church, but also of many particular Churches, and the pastors and guides of them among themselves; the Churches which forsake the communion of other Churches without just cause, do fall into schism. And if they not only refuse to communicate with them in the performance of the acts of religion, upon causeless dislike, but swerve from the rule of faith the other do certainly hold, they become not only schismatical but heretical also.

These are the several kinds of schism, of which one is much more dangerous than another. The forsaking the rule of faith, or absolute refusal to be subject to the holy ministry, saying as they did, "Are not all the people holy? You take too much upon you," &c. is damnable schism. In each Church wherein there must be one pastor having eminent and peerless power, when one is lawfully called, they who presume to set up another, if they know the former to be lawfully possessed of the place; or, their ignorance thereof be affected; or, they be so violently carried with the streams of contention and faction, that they would not yield though the right should appear unto them; this schism is likewise damnable. But, if it be doubtful, and men carry minds ready to yield when they shall see the right, it is not so[1].

When whole Churches, with their pastors and guides, divide themselves from other, refusing to communicate with them; if this separation grow out of the pride and pharisaical conceit of fancied perfection and absolute holiness, as did the schism of Novatus, Donatus, Lucifer, and others of that sort; it is damnable schism: but if out of ignorance, or error not overthrowing the rule of faith; or over earnest urging of ceremonies, rites, and observations (as the separation of Victor, bishop of Rome[2], and churches of Asia had been, if

terræ jungitur a promissis Ecclesiæ separatur. Nec perveniet ad Christi præmia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, prophanus est, hostis est. Habere jam non potest Deum patrem qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem." [Ed. Paris. 1841, pp. 89, 90.]

[1] "In schismate præsenti tam dubio, temerarium, injuriosum, et scandalosum est, asserere omnes tenentes istam partem vel alteram, vel omnes neutrales [etiam absolutos] esse universaliter extra statum salutis, vel excommunicatos, vel rationabiliter de schismate suspectos," &c. Ger. de modo habendi se tempore schismatis.

[2] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. cap. 23.

Irenæus had not interposed himself); or striving for precedence; it is dangerous, but not damnable; unless it be joined with such pertinacy, that though it should appear they were in error, or did amiss and contrary to the rule of charity, they would not yield.

This being the nature of schism and heresy, and these the kinds and degrees of them more or less dangerous, let us in the next place see what is to be thought of all those Churches of Græcia, Armenia, Ethiopia, Russia, before mentioned; every of which is in some sort rent and divided from other. We dare not with the proud Romanists, condemn so famous Churches as culpable of damnable heresy and schism; and cast so many millions of souls into hell, for every difference in matter of opinion, or rent from the other parts of the body of the Church.

All these, therefore, holding the rule of faith[1], and believing all those things that are, on the peril of eternal damnation, to be particularly and expressly known and believed; and their separation not growing, for aught we know, out of pharisaical and damnable pride, (as did that of Novatus, Donatus, and the like), but out of error not directly contrary to the rule of faith, or some other human infirmity and defect; and, it no way appearing that their obstinacy is such, that though they knew they did amiss, they would still continue so to do; we account them in the number of the Churches of God, and doubt not but that innumerable living and dying in them, notwithstanding their sundry defects, imperfections, and wants, are and have been saved.

[1] "Diligenter considerandum esset, quid dicere vellent; vel inveniendum esset medium expediens, ut omnia ponerentur ad concordiam, non persistendo in probatione omnimoda veritatis hujus articuli contra eos; vix enim convincerentur homines qui vellent repugnare. Nota hic, quomodo aliquæ determinationes Parisiis factæ duntaxat ligant Diœcesanos, et si sic dici possit de Latinorum Ecclesia. Notate si de uno articulo posset fieri non articulus, ponendo res in talem statum, in quali erant ante determinationem. Exemplum: determinatio Bonifacii annihilata fuit per quendam successorem ejus.—Si Græci habeant leges vel consuetudines beneficia conferendi, etc. Et ad hoc facit, quod dicunt aliqui, eos alias scripsisse Papæ: *potentiam tuam recognoscimus, avaritiam tuam implere non possumus, vivite per vos.*" Gerson, P. IV. Serm. de pace et unitate Græcorum. [Vol. II. p. 147.]

We conclude therefore, that their schisms and separations are sinful, wicked, and dangerous; and their errors inexcusable, ensnaring the consciences of many to endless perdition, and greatly endangering all that are, or have been, misled with them; but not damnable, excluding from all possibility of salvation. We make a great difference between them that were the first authors and beginners of these divisions[1], and such as walk in the ways and insist in the steps of their misled and seduced fathers; between such as are more, and such as are less, deeply plunged into error.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE LATIN CHURCH, THAT IT CONTINUED THE TRUE CHURCH OF GOD EVEN TILL OUR TIME: AND, THAT THE ERRORS WE CONDEMN WERE NOT THE DOCTRINES OF THAT CHURCH.

TOUCHING the Latin Church likewise, we are of the same opinion, that it continued still a part of the Catholic Church, notwithstanding the manifold abuses and superstitions that in time crept into it, and the dangerous and damnable false doctrine that some taught and defended in the midst of it. It is therefore most fond and frivolous, that some demand of us, where our Church was before Luther began? for we say, it was where now it is. If they ask us, which? we answer, it was the known and apparent Church in the world, wherein all our fathers lived and died, wherein Luther and the rest were baptized, received their Christianity, ordination, and power of ministry. If they reply, that that Church was theirs and not ours, for that the doctrines they now teach and we impugn, the ceremonies, customs, and observations which they retain and defend, and which we have abolished as fond, vain, and

[1] "Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam, nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audacia suæ præsumtionis pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi." Aug. Epist. clxii.=43. Glorio Eleusio, &c.

superstitious, were taught, used, and practised in that Church wherein our fathers lived and died; we answer, that none of those points of false doctrine and error which they now maintain and we condemn, were the doctrines of that Church constantly delivered, or generally received by all them that were of it; but doubtfully broached and devised without all certain resolution, or factiously defended by some certain only, who, as a dangerous faction, adulterated the sincerity of the Christian verity, and brought the Church into miserable bondage.

Touching the abuses and manifold superstitions which we have removed, it is true they were in that Church wherein our fathers lived, but not without signification of their dislike of them, and earnest desire of reformation; as shall appear by that which followeth. As therefore the Churches of Corinth[1], Galatia, Pergamus, and Thyatira, had in them emulations, division, neglect of discipline, contempt of the apostles of Christ, some that denied the resurrection of the dead, that joined circumcision and the works of the law with Christ in the work of salvation, them that maintained the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, and suffered the woman Jesabel, which called herself a prophetess, to deceive the people of God, and make them commit fornication, and eat things sacrificed unto idols, &c., yet it is not to be thought that all that were of these Churches with one consent denied the resurrection, and fell into all the errors and evils above-mentioned; for then doubtless these societies had ceased to be the true and Catholic Church of God: so, though sundry dangerous and damnable errors were broached in the midst of the Church and house of God, in the days of our fathers, which did fret as a canker[2], as Gerson confesseth; yet were they not with full approbation generally received, but doubted of, contradicted, refuted, and rejected, as uncertain, dangerous, damnable, and heretical. And, as in the reformation of those Churches of Corinth, Galatia, Pergamus, and Thyatira, if some had still persisted in the maintenance of those errors and abuses approved by the Spirit of God and the blessed apostles of our Saviour Christ, whilst others, moved by the admonition of the Spirit

[1] 1 Epist. ad Corinth., Epist. ad Galat. Rev. ii. 12. 18.

[2] Gers. part I. De potestate Eccles. consid. 12. [Vol. II. 247, "ut cancer serpens tam medullitus imbibitum."]

of God, and the words of the holy apostles, reformed themselves; and so a division or separation had grown; it had been a vain challenge for the stiff maintainers of errors and abuses, to challenge the reformed part for novelty, to ask of them where their Church was before this reformation began, seeing it was even the same wherein in one communion they formerly lived together, with toleration of all those evils which the one part still retained, and the other justly rejected: so when many princes, prelates, and great states of the Christian world, have, in our days, shaken off the yoke of miserable bondage whereof our fathers complained, removed those superstitious abuses they disliked, condemned those errors in matters of doctrine which they acknowledged to be dangerous and damnable, fretting as a canker, and ensnaring the consciences of many; it is no less vain and frivolous for the patrons of error to ask us, which, and where our Church was before the reformation began; for it was that wherein all our fathers lived, longing to see things brought back to their first beginnings again; in which their predecessors, as a dangerous and wicked faction, tyrannized over men's consciences, and perverted all things, to the endless destruction of themselves and many others with whom they prevailed.

If they shall further reply, that the Church wherein our fathers lived was not ours, because there were many things found in it which we have not; who seeth not that this reason stands as strong against them as against us? For there are many errors and superstitions, which they have rejected, and do not retain at this day, which were in being in the days of our fathers. And besides, this objection would have served the patrons of error in the Church of Corinth, Galatia, and the rest; for they might have said, after those Churches were reformed, that they were new, and not the same that were before; for that in the former, the resurrection of the dead was denied, circumcision urged and practised, discipline neglected, and the apostles of Christ contemned; which things, afterwards, were not found in them. As therefore this had been a shameless objection of those erring miscreants against the godly and well-affected in those times, so it is in ours. And as those errors were not general

in those Churches, so were not they which we have condemned in the Churches wherein our fathers lived. As those errors and heresies were not the doctrines of the Churches of Corinth, Galatia, and the rest, but the lewd assertion of some, perverting and adulterating the doctrine of the Churches; so likewise the errors which we condemn at this day, whereupon the difference groweth between the Romish faction and us, were never generally received, nor constantly delivered, as the doctrines of the Church; but uncertainly and doubtfully disputed and proposed, as the opinions of some men in the Church, not as the resolved determinations of the whole Church.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE SEVERAL POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US AND OUR ADVERSARIES, WHEREIN SOME IN THE CHURCH ERRED, BUT NOT THE WHOLE CHURCH.

FOR neither did that Church wherein our fathers lived and died, hold that canon of Scripture which the Romanists now urge, nor that insufficiency they now charge it with, nor corruption of the originals, nor necessity of following the vulgar translation, nor the heresies touching man's creation brought into the Church by certain barbarous schoolmen, as that there are three different estates of men; the first, of pure nature, without addition of grace or sin; and two other, the one of grace; the other of sin. That all those evils that are found in the nature of man since his fall, as ignorance, concupiscence, contrariety between the better and meaner faculties of the soul, difficulty to do well, and proneness to do evil, were all natural, the conditions of pure nature; that is, of nature considered in itself [as] it would come forth from God. That these evils are not sinful, nor had their beginnings from sin; that they were the consequents of nature in the state of creation, but restrained by addition of supernatural grace, without which the integrity of nature was full and perfect. That men in the state of pure nature,

that is, as they might have been created of God in the integrity of nature, without addition of grace, and in the state of original sin, differ no otherwise, but as they that never had, and they that have lost, rich and precious clothing; so, that original sin is but the loss of that without which nature's integrity may stand. That no evils are brought in by the fall, but nature left to herself to feel that which was before, but not felt nor discerned while the addition of grace bettered nature. None of these errors touching the state of man's creation were the doctrines of the Church, but the private fancies and conceits of men.

So, likewise, touching original sin, there were that taught, that it is not inherent in each particular man born of Adam, but that Adam's personal sin is imputed only. That the propagation of sin is not general, [the Virgin] Mary being conceived without original sin. That the punishment of it is not any sensible smart or positive evil, but privative only; and that therefore there is a third place, neither hell nor heaven, named *limbus puerorum;* which is a place where, as some think, they who are condemned thither, though they be excluded from the kingdom of heaven and all possibility of ever coming thither, yet are in a state of natural happiness, and do enjoy the sweet content of eternal life. These Pelagian heresies were taught in the Church of God, but they were not the doctrines of the Church; being condemned, rejected, and refuted, as contrary to the Christian verity, by many worthy members and guides of the Church, who, as they never received these parts of false doctrine, so likewise the Church wherein they lived neither knew nor approved that distinction and difference of venial and mortal sins, which the Romanists now teach; nor power of nature to do the works of the law, according to the substance of the things commanded, though not according to the intention of the lawgiver; to love God above all, and to do actions morally good, or not sinful, without concurrence of special grace; nor election and reprobation depending on the foresight of something in us positive or privative; nor merit of congruence and condignity; nor works of supererogation; nor counsels of perfection, as they now teach; nor justification by perfection of inherent qualities; nor uncertainty of grace; nor seven sacraments, properly so named; nor local presence;

nor transubstantiation; nor oral manducation of the body of Christ; nor real sacrificing of it for the quick and the dead; nor remission of sins after this life; nor tormenting of the souls of men, dying in the state of salvation, in a part of hell, hundreds of years, by devils, in corporeal fire, out of which prayer should deliver them; nor that the saints hear our prayers, know or are acquainted with our particular wants; nor the gross idolatry in those times committed, and intolerable abuses found in the number, fashion, and worship of their images; nor their absolution, as now they define it; nor treasure of the Church, growing out of the superfluity of saints' merits not rewardable in themselves, to be disposed by the pope for supply of other men's wants, to release them out of purgatory by way of indulgence; nor the infallibility of the pope's judgment, and plenitude of his power, such and so great that he may depose princes, and dispose of their crowns and dignities; and that whatsoever he doth he may not be brought into order, or deposed by authority of the whole Christian world in a general council. These are the errors which we condemn, and our adversaries maintain and defend: these, we are well assured, were not the doctrines of that Church wherein our fathers lived and died, though we do not deny but they were taught by some in that Church. All these we offer to prove to be error in matter of our Christian faith; and that seeing we could no longer have peace with our adversaries but by approving these impieties, we had just cause to divide ourselves from them, or (to speak more properly), to suffer ourselves to be accursed, anathematized, and rejected by them, rather than to subscribe to so many errors and heresies contrary to the Christian and catholic verity.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE TRUE CHURCH, WHICH, AND WHERE IT WAS BEFORE LUTHER'S TIME.

THUS then it appeareth which we think to have been the true Church of God, before Luther or others of that sort were heard of in the world; namely, that wherein all our fathers lived and died; wherein none of the errors reproved by Luther ever found general, uniform, and full approbation; in which all the abuses removed by him were long before by all good men complained of, and a reformation desired[1]. And therefore though we acknowledge Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and the like, who with great magnanimity opposed themselves against the tyranny of the see of Rome and the impiety of those who withheld the truth of God in unrighteousness, who being named Christians served antichrist (as Bernard[2] complained of some in his time), to have been the worthy servants of God, and holy martyrs and confessors, suffering in the cause of Christ against antichrist; yet do we not think that the Church of God was found only in them, or that there was no other appearance of succession of Church and ministry, as Stapleton, and others of that faction, falsely impute unto us. For we most firmly believe, all the Churches in the world, wherein our fathers lived and died, to have been the true Church of God, in which undoubtedly salvation was to be found; and that they which taught, embraced, and believed those damnable errors which the Romanists now defend against us, were a faction only in the Churches; as were they that denied the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the apostles of Christ in the Churches of Corinth and Galatia.

If any of our men deny these Churches to have been the true Churches of God, their meaning is limited in respect of the prevailing faction that was in the Church, and including

[1] [See Thorndike's Just Weights, p. 1, and Bramhall's answer to Militiere, Works, Vol. I. p. 40. Ed. Oxon. 1842.]

[2] Serm. XXXIII. [in Cantica.] "Omnes amici et omnes inimici; omnes necessarii et omnes adversarii; omnes domestici et nulli pacifici; ministri Christi et serviunt antichristo." [Opera, p. 1393.]

them and all the wicked impieties by any of them defended; in which sense their negative is to be understood. For howsoever the Church (which is not to be charged with the errors and faults of all that in the midst of her did amiss) held a saving profession of the truth of God; yet there were many, and they carrying the greatest shew of the Church, that erred damnably, and held not a saving profession of divine truth; whereupon Gerson saith[1], that before the council of Constance, the false opinions touching the power of the pope did fret like a canker, and prevailed so far, that he would hardly have escaped the note of heresy that had said but half so much as was defined in the council of Constance by the universal consent of the whole Christian world.

Gregorius Ariminensis sheweth[2], that touching the power of nature to do things morally good, and to fulfil the law, without concurrence of special grace, touching the works of infidels, predestination, reprobation, and punishments of original sin, the heresies of Pelagius were taught in the Church; and that, not by a few or contemptible men, but so many and of so great place, that he almost feared to follow the doctrine of the fathers, and oppose himself against them therein. The same doth Gerson report[3], concerning sundry lewd assertions prejudicial to the states of kings and princes, which the council of Constance could not be induced to condemn, by reason of a mighty faction that prevailed in it; though many great ones much urged it; and though they made no stay to condemn the positions of Wickliffe and Huss, seeming to derogate from the state of the clergy, though many of them might carry a good and catholic sense, if they might have found a favourable construction. Whereupon he breaketh into a bitter complaint of the partialities and unequal courses holden

[1] De Potestate Ecclesiastica consid. 12.

[2] Lib. ii. dist. 26, q. i. art. 1, dist. 30, q. iii.

[3] Dial. Apolog. (judicium de Concilio Constantiniensi.) [Vol. II. 387. "Primitus enim Bohemi, dehinc Anglici detulerunt errores Wicliff; pro quorum reprobatione zelavit publice advena. Videat autem prudentia tua, si non existimare justum erat, nec temerarium, non minori diligentia, zelo vel constantia procedi debere ad damnationem doctrinæ, magis in moribus et republica pestiferæ, et hoc omni tergiversatione vel personarum acceptione rejectis?" Compare with this the commencement of the tract.]

in the Church, and protesteth that he hath no hope of a reformation by a council, things standing as they then did.

The like complaint did Contarenus make in our time[1], that if any man did debase the nature of man, deject the pride of sinful flesh, magnify the riches of the grace of God, and urge the necessity of it, he was judged a Lutheran, and pronounced a heretic; though they that gloried in the name of Catholics were themselves Pelagian heretics, if not worse than Pelagians. "Alas," saith Ockam[2], "the time is come the blessed apostle St Paul (2 Tim. iv.) prophesied of, 'when men will not suffer wholesome doctrine, but having their ears itching, after their own lusts get them a heap of teachers, turning their ears from the truth, and being given unto fables.' This prophecy is altogether fulfilled in our days. For behold, there are many that pervert the holy Scriptures, deny the sayings of the holy fathers, reject the canons of the Church, and civil constitutions of the emperors; which molest, persecute, bring into bondage, and, without mercy, torment and afflict, even unto death, them that defend the truth; and (that I may conclude many things in few words), with harlots' foreheads, and execrable boldness, do endeavour to subvert imperial and regal power, and to overthrow all laws, both of God and man. Neither are these young men, or unlearned, but they are the elders of the people, high-priests, scribes, pharisees, and doctors of the law, as they were that crucified Christ: so that we may rightly say of our times, that Daniel long since pronounced in his thirteenth chapter, 'Iniquity is gone out from Babylon, from the elders and judges that seemed to govern and rule the people.' For many that should be pillars in the Church of God, and defend the truth even unto blood, do cast themselves headlong into the pit of

[1] In libro de Prædestinatione. ["Alii enim Catholicæ sese religionis titulo venditantes, et Lutheranorum adversarios jactitantes, dum arbitrii libertatem nimium adstruere conantur, Christi se gratiæ plurimum detrahere non intelligunt; et nimio Lutheranos oppugnandi studio maximis Ecclesiæ Christianæ luminibus, primisque Catholicæ veritatis doctoribus adversantur in Pelagii hæresim plus æquo declinantes." Opera, p. 604.]

[2] Occam, prol. Comp. err. Johannis xxii. ["Quæ severa prophetia diebus nostris—est penitus adimpleta. Nam insurrexerunt in me et alios viros, utique realiter Christianos, etc. testes iniqui: qui Scripturas sacras subvertunt," etc.]

heresies." Thus spake he in his time of the corrupt state of the Church, wherein so damnable a faction prevailed, dangerously perverting all things, that in the end he submitteth all his writings to the judgment and correction of the true and catholic Church; but not of the Church of malignant miscreants, heretics, schismatics, and their favourers.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE APOSTACY OF SOME IN THE CHURCH.

THUS then we think with Lyra[1], that as there was an apostacy or revolt of many kingdoms from the Roman empire, and of many Churches from the communion of the Roman Church; so there hath been an apostacy from the Catholic faith in the midst of the Church: not for that all at any time did forsake the true faith; but for that many fell from the sincerity of the faith, according to the saying of our Saviour, when the time of antichrist draweth on, "Iniquity shall abound, and the charity of many shall wax cold;" and that, 1 Tim. iv. "In the last times some shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error;" and 2 Tim. iii. "In the last days there shall be perilous times: men shall be lovers of themselves, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith." This he speaketh of an apostacy in the midst of the Church itself, answerably to that of Nazianzen[2], who saith,

[1] In 2 Thes. ii. "*Nisi venerit discessio primum;* quod exponunt aliqui de discessione a Romano imperio—alii exponunt de recessu ab obedientia Romanæ Ecclesiæ, a qua jamdiu recessit Græcia. Sed salvo meliori judicio, mihi videtur melius intelligendum de recessu a fide Catholica (sicut exponunt aliqui): non tamen sic intelligendo quod omnes sint a fide catholica recessuri; quia dominabitur in aliquibus usque ad finem mundi; sed quia major pars credentium discedet ab ea."

[2] Orat. in laud. Athanasii: [*ὡς γὰρ ὕδατος ἑνὸς τέμνεται, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ὅσον ἡ χεὶρ ἀφῆκεν ἁρνομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον τῇ χειρὶ περιεσχέθη τῶν δακτύλων ἐκρέον, οὕτω καὶ ἡμῶν οὐχ ὅσον ἀσεβὲς σχίζεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον εὐσεβέστερον, οὐ περὶ δογμάτων μόνον μικρῶν καὶ περιορᾶσθαι ἀξίων.* Nazianz. Opera, Vol. I. 395.]

that as when one taketh water into his hand, not only that which he taketh not up, but that also which runneth forth and findeth passage between his fingers, is divided and separated from that which he holdeth inclosed in his hand; so, not only the open and professed enemies of the Catholic verity, but they also that seem to be her best and greatest friends, are sometimes divided one from another.

There is no cause then, why it should seem so strange to our adversaries, that our divines affirm, there hath been an apostacy from the faith; not of the whole Church; but of many in the Church, dangerously erring, and adulterating the doctrine of faith delivered by Christ and his blessed apostles; and that some say, this apostacy began sooner, some later. For if we speak of those grossest illusions, wherewith men were abused in these later ages, surely that degree of apostacy did not enter into the Church in former times. For there was no thought in any Christian man living six hundred years ago, that the Pope could dispense the merits of the saints[1], and give pardons; that he might depose princes for supposed heresy[2]; that the sacrament not received but elevated, gazed on, and adored, is a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead[3]; that [the Virgin] Mary was conceived without original sin[4]; that the people

[1] No mention of indulgences in Peter Lombard, nor others of that time, and the schoolmen speak very doubtfully of them.

[2] "Nimirum, ut pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hæc novitas non dicam hæresis, necdum in mundo emerserat, ut sacerdotes illius qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi, docerent populum: quod malis regibus nullam debeat subjectionem, et licet iis sacramentum fidelitatis fecerit, nullam tamen debeat fidelitatem." Sigebertius in Chron. an. 1088.

[3] "Diu hæc consuetudo obtinuit, ut præsentibus omnibus Eucharistia [corporis et sanguinis Domini] distribueretur.—Tota quoque sacræ precis, quem canonem vocant, compositio, publicæ tantum missæ accommodata videtur;—quo fit, ut nonnulli veteres, Romani ordinis expositores, qui apud nos sunt, canonem in publica tantum, non autem quotidiana et privata actione legendum contendant." Cassander, Præf. in lib. ord. Rom. a se editi, [Opera p. 94.]

[4] Bonavent. lib. iii. d. 3. q. 2. ["Aliorum positio est quod sanctificatio Virginis subsecuta est originalis peccati contractionem; et hoc quia nullus immunis fuit a culpa originalis peccati, nisi solum Filius Virginis.—Hic autem modus dicendi magis concordat sanctorum auc-

are to be partakers of the sacrament but only in one kind; and sundry other things of like nature. But if we speak of a declination from the sincerity of the Christian faith, it is certain it began long ago, even in the first ages of the Church. Of this sort was the error that the souls of the just are in some part of hell till the last day, as Tertullian[1], Irenæus[2], and sundry other of the ancient did imagine[3]; and that they see not God, nor enjoy heaven's happiness, till the general resurrection, which was the opinion of many of the fathers.

That all catholic Christians, how wickedly soever they live, yet holding the foundation of true Christian profession, shall in the end, after great torments endured in the world to come, be saved "as it were by fire." This was the error of sundry of the ancient, who durst not say as Origen, that the angels that fell shall in the end be restored: nor, as some other, mollifying the hardness of Origen's opinion, that all men, whether Christians or infidels: nor, as a third sort, that all Christians, how damnably soever erring in matter of faith, shall in the end be saved: but thought it most reasonable, that all right believing Christians should find mercy, whatsoever their wickedness were[4]. This opinion was so

toritati, pro eo quod communiter sancti cum de materia illa loquuntur, solum Christum excipiunt ab illa generalitate, qua dicitur: *Omnes peccaverunt in Adam.* Nullus autem invenitur dixisse de his quos audivimus auribus nostris, Virginem Mariam a peccato originali fuisse immunem." Opera, v. p. 32.]

[1] De Anima, c. 55. "Habes etiam de paradiso a nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini."

[2] Irenæus contra hæreses prope finem. [v. 31.]

[3] Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. lib. vi. annot. 345.

[4] "Sicut diaboli et omnium negatorum atque impiorum, qui dixerunt in corde suo: *non est Deus*, credimus æterna tormenta; sic peccatorum atque impiorum, [et tamen Christianorum], quorum opera in igne probanda sunt [atque purganda], moderatam arbitramur et mixtam clementiæ sententiam Judicis." Hieron. in comment. in Esaiæ lxvi. prope finem. [Vol III. 515.] Et contra Pelagianos, lib. i. Christianos in peccato præventos salvandos post pœnas scribit. [Vol. IV. ii. 502.] Aug. de civitate Dei, li. 21, cap. 24, 25, 26, 27 [potius c. 17, sq.] Proponit opinionem Originis et aliorum, et Enchiridio ad Laurentium, c. 67; ait eos, "qui credunt (se Christianos impios et peccatores post pœnas salvandos) et tamen Catholici sunt, humana quadam bene-

general in Augustine's time, that very fearfully he opposed himself against it; and not daring wholly to impugn that which he found to have so great and reverend authors, he qualified it what he could, and so, doubtingly broached that opinion; which gave occasion to the Papists of their heresy touching purgatory. For, saith he, if they would only have us think that the souls of men living wickedly here in this world, may, through the goodness of God and the prayers of the living, find some mitigation of their pains in hell, or have their punishments suspended and deferred for a time, yet so that they be confessed to be eternal, I would not strive with them; yea, saith he, it may be that men for some lighter sins and imperfections cleaving to them while they are here, may find pardon and remission in the world to come, and be saved as by fire: which, whether it be so, or whether there be no other purging but in this life by the fire of tribulation, he professeth he knoweth not, nor dareth not pronounce.

Of this sort was the opinion of a double resurrection; the first of the good, who shall live in all happiness on the earth a thousand years before the wicked should have awaked out of the sleep of death; and another, after the thousand years expired, when the wicked also should rise and go into everlasting fire, and the good into everlasting life; which they supposed to be the second resurrection. How generally this error spread itself in the true Church, they that have but looked into the writings of the fathers, and monuments of antiquity, cannot be ignorant[1].

The opinion of the necessity of infants receiving the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood as well as baptism, did possess the minds of many in the Church for certain hundreds of years, as appeareth by that Augustine writeth of it in his time[2]; and Hugo de Sancto Victore, so many

volentia mihi falli videri." [See also his treatise De Fide et Operibus, c. 14, sq. Garnier thinks that St Augustine refers more immediately to St Jerome. Append. ad Mercat. p. 117. See also the note of the Benedictines, l. c. Brewer's Ed.]

[1] Sixtus Senensis, Bibliothecæ Sanctæ, lib. v. annot. 233; ubi ostendit Hieronym. et August. summa cum reverentia dissentire, quia multi ecclesiasticorum virorum et multi martyres Chiliastarum opinionem amplectebantur.

[2] Cyprianus de Lapsis [ed. Paris, 1841]. Augustinus contra II.

hundred of years after him[1], yea, the Greek[2] and Ethiopian Churches[3] continue that error and the practice of communicating infants as soon as they are baptized, even unto this day.

Touching predestination, how many obscurities, uncertainties, and contrarieties shall we find? Surely before Augustine's time[4], many great and worthy prelates and doctors of the Church, not having occasion to enter into the exact handling of that part of Christian doctrine, did teach that men are predestinated for the foresight of something in themselves. And Augustine himself, in the beginning of his conflicts with the Pelagians, was of opinion, that at the least, for the foresight of faith, men are elected to eternal life; which afterwards he disclaimed as false and erroneous[5], and taught that man's salvation dependeth on the efficacy of that grace which God giveth, and not his purpose of saving upon the uncertainty of man's will. This doctrine of Augustine was received and confirmed in the Church against the Pelagians, and Semi-Pelagians. And Bellarmine professeth[6], that Augustine's doctrine in this case is the doctrine of the Church; yet so, that many followed the former conceit, as we may easily see by the writings of the schoolmen[7], many

Epistolas Pelagianorum ad Bonifacium, lib. i. c. 22. Hypognosticon, lib. v. [c. 5.] Epist. cvii. [ccxvii. § 18.] ad Vitalem. Rhenanus in libro Tertulliani de Corona Militis, ostendit baptizatos statim sanctæ communionis participes effectos. [p. 451, ed. 1528]. Maldonatus in Joan. vi. 53: "Missam [inquit] facio Augustini et Innocentii primi sententiam, quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in Ecclesia, Eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam."

[1] Hugo de S. Victor. Eruditionis theolog. de Sacramentis, lib. i. c. 20: "Pueris recens natis idem sacramentum in specie sanguinis est ministrandum digito sacerdotis," &c.

[2] [Stan. Socolovius in] Censura Orientalis Ecclesiæ, c. ix.

[3] Damianus a Goes. [p. 69.]

[4] Sixtus Senensis Bibliothecæ Sanctæ, lib. vi. annotatione 251.

[5] Retractatio, c. 23, et De Prædest. Sanctorum, c. 3.

[6] Bellar. lib. ii. c. 2. de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio: ["Secundo loco probari potest veritas prædestinationis gratuitæ ex traditione Ecclesiastica: nam quamvis ante exortam hæresim Pelagianam, veteres patres quæstionem illam non adeo accurate tractaverint, sed tantum occasione oblata breviter sententiam suam aperuerint; tamen post illam hæresim exortam, omnes omnino qui sanctitatis nomine in Ecclesia claruerunt hanc ipsam sententiam apertissime docuerunt."]

[7] Refutat. Gregor. Arim. lib. i. dist. xl. q. i. art. ii.

of whom do teach, that men are elected for the foresight of something positive or privative in themselves.

How far some did Montanise in the matter of second marriage, so far disliking it, that they would not have it blessed in the Church, but imposed penance on them that married a second wife after the death of the first; Jerome against Jovinian, and certain ancient provincial councils, are proofs more than sufficient[1].

Touching the state of saints departed, their generality of presence in all places, their universal knowledge of all things, and admirable working everywhere where their memories are solemnized, are not more confidently affirmed by Jerome[2] and Gregory[3], than they are modestly denied and doubted of by Augustine[4], Hugo de Sancto Victore[5], the author of the Gloss[6], and others[7].

That there were superstitions and abuses in the primitive Churches, we have such witnesses as the Romanists dare not except against. Doth not Jerome confess[8], that the burning of lights at noonday, used in some Churches, was an act of

[1] "Presbyterum convivio secundarum nuptiarum interesse non debere, maxime cum præcipiatur secundis nuptiis pœnitentiam tribuere. Quis ergo erit presbyter, qui propter convivium illis consentiat nuptiis?" Concilium Neocesariense, can. vii. [Hard. i. 284.] Amb. in cap. 7. 1 Cor. [ad fin.] "Primæ nuptiæ sub benedictione Dei celebrantur solenniter: secundæ etiam in præsenti carent gloria (id est benedictione); concessæ sunt autem propter incontinentiam." Rhenanus, in argumento in Exhort. Tertulliani ad Castitatem: "Veteres (inquit) omnes, atque adeo Hieronymus ipse matrimonio parum æqui fuerunt. Certe constat Hieronymum hac de causa Romæ male audisse." [p. 567. Hieron. in Jovinian. p. 146.]

[2] Hier. contra Vigilantium: ["Argumentatur contra signa atque virtutes quæ in basilicis martyrum fiunt, et dicit Vigilantius eas incredulis prodesse non credentibus; quasi nunc hoc quæratur quibus fiant et non qua virtute." Vol. IV. ii. 285.]

[3] Greg. dial. iv. cap. 33.

[4] Aug. de cura pro mortuis [§ 16]: "Si tanti patriarchæ, quid erga populum ex iis procreatum ageretur ignoraverunt," &c.

[5] Hugo, Eruditiones theologicæ, de Sacramentis Fidei, lib. ii. part xvi. cap. 2.

[6] Glossa in Esaiæ, lxiii. [7] [See chap. xx.]

[8] Hier. contra Vigilantium: ["Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, sicut frustra calumniaris, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperamus.—Quod si aliqui per imperitiam: *confiteor zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam.*" Vol. IV. ii. 284.]

zeal, but not according to knowledge? Did not a council forbid those pernoctations in the cemeteries and places of the martyrs' burial[1], which when Vigilantius reproved, Jerome, with such fierceness and rage as cannot well be excused, traduced him as the vilest monster the earth did bear[2]? Are not these vigils long since abolished[3]?

Doth not Augustine confess[4], there were certain *adoratores sepulchrorum et picturarum*, worshippers of tombs and pictures, in the Church, in his time? It is therefore much to be marvelled at, that our adversaries charge us with I know not what impiety, for that we say, there hath been a defection, not only of heretics from the Church and faith, but also, in the Church, of her own children, from the sincerity of the heavenly truth, sometimes more and sometimes less; in some things by some, and in some other by others: that this defection began long ago, but found greater and stronger opposition in the first six hundred years than after, there being in later times a great decay of the ancient piety; whence it came, that many more and worse errors, than ever before were broached, and they which were in some beginnings before, were augmented and more dangerously defended. In which sense some of our men have said, that Gregory was the last of the good bishops, and the first of the bad[5]; for that all things since his time have greatly decayed, and the state of the Church been much corrupted.

[1] Concilium Eliberitanum, can. 34, 35.

[2] Hier. contra Vigilantium.

[3] Bellar. De cultu Sanctorum, iii. 17: "Quoniam paulatim occasione nocturnarum vigiliarum abusus quidam irrepere cœperant, vel potius flagitia non raro committi, placuit Ecclesiæ nocturnos conventus, et vigilias proprie dictas intermittere, ac solum in iisdem diebus celebrare jejunia."

[4] Aug. de moribus Ecclesiæ Cath. lib. i. cap. 34: "In ipsa vera religione [quidam] superstitiosi sunt," etc.

[5] "Ita vixit ut usque ad tempora nostra neminem ex successoribus parem habuerit." Platina in vita Greg. [I. sub init.] Idem in vita Stephani III. "Severos et graves viros reformidat hic noster clerus. Quid ita? quia in tanta licentia malunt vivere, quam bene monenti aut cogenti obtemperare, et ob eam rem Christiana religio quotidie in pejus labitur."

CHAPTER X.

OF THEIR ERROR WHO SAY, NOTHING CAN BE AMISS IN THE CHURCH, EITHER IN RESPECT OF DOCTRINE OR DISCIPLINE.

IT is vain, saith Gerson[1], that some object the Church is founded on a rock, and therefore nothing can be amiss either in the doctrine or discipline of it, nothing that should need any reformation. "If it be so," saith he, "then where is the observation of the canon, that clerks go not into inns or taverns? That monks in their own places attend only prayer and fastings, without intermeddling with ecclesiastical or secular business? Whence is the superfluous pomp and princely state of cardinals and bishops, making them forget that they are men? What say they to that abomination, that one man holdeth two or three hundred ecclesiastical benefices? That the sword of excommunication is so easily drawn out against the poor for every trifle; as for debts: and that the lords of the clergy use it for the maintenance of their own temporal states? That strangers are appointed by the pope to have cure of souls, not understanding the language of them over whom they are set, nor living amongst them?"

"Open your eyes," saith he, "and see if the houses of nuns be not stews of filthy harlots: if the consecrated monasteries be not fairs, markets, and inns: cathedral churches, dens of thieves and robbers: priests, under pretence of maids, keep harlots: consider whether so great variety of pictures and images be fit, and whether it occasion not idolatry in the simple. Look upon the number and variety of religious orders, the canonizing of new saints, though there be too many already, as Bridget of Suetia, Charles of Brittany; the feasts of new saints being more religiously kept than of the blessed apostles. Inquire if there be not apocryphal scriptures, hymns, and prayers, in process of time, either of purpose or of ignorance, brought into the Church, to the great hurt of the Christian faith. Consider the diversities of opinions, as of the conception of Mary, and sundry other

[1] Gerson, Declarat. defectuum virorum Ecclesiasticorum. [Vol. II. 314.]

things. See if there be not intolerable superstition in the worshipping of saints; innumerable observations without all ground of reason; vain credulity in believing things concerning the saints, reported in the uncertain legends of their lives; superstitious opinions of obtaining pardon and remission of sins, by saying so many *Pater nosters* in such a church before such an image: as if in the Scriptures and authentical writings of holy men, there were not sufficient direction for all acts of piety and devotion, without these fabulous and frivolous additaments: nay, which is yet worse, see if these observations, in many countries and kingdoms of the world, be not more urged than the laws of God; even as we shall find, in the decrees and decretals, a monk more severely punished for going without his cowl, than for committing adultery or sacrilege[1]."

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE CAUSES OF THE MANIFOLD CONFUSIONS AND EVILS FORMERLY FOUND IN THE CHURCH.

THESE are the evils, deformities, and sores of the Church, which this worthy man in his time complained of; the causes whereof he thought to be principally two. First, the neglecting of the laws of God and direction of the Scriptures, and following human inventions. Secondly, the ambition, pride, and covetousness of the bishop of Rome. Touching the first, which is the neglect of divine laws, and infinite multiplying of human inventions, he pronounceth confidently, there can be no general reformation of the Church, without the abolishing of sundry canons and statutes, which neither are, nor reasonably can be, observed in these times, which do nothing else but ensnare the consciences of men to their endless perdition. That no tongue is able sufficiently to express what evil, what danger, what confusion, the contempt of holy Scripture (which doubtless is sufficient for the government of the Church, for otherwise Christ had been an im-

[1] Gerson, de Directione Cordis. Consideratione 16, et sequentibus. [Vol. III. 471.]

perfect lawgiver), and the following of human inventions, hath brought into the Church[1]. "For proof hereof," saith he, "let us consider the state of the clergy, to which heavenly wisdom should have been espoused: but they have committed whoredom with that filthy harlot, earthly, carnal, and devilish wisdom; so that the state of the Church is become merely brutish and monstrous; heaven is below and the earth above; the spirit obeyeth and the flesh commandeth; the principal is esteemed but as accessory, and the accessory as principal: yet some shame not to say, that the Church is better governed by human inventions than by the divine law and the law of the gospel of Christ, which assertion is most blasphemous. For, the evangelical doctrine, by the professors of it, did enlarge the bound of the Church and lifted her up to heaven; which these sons of Hagar, seeking out that wisdom which is from the earth, have cast down to the dunghill. And that it is not wholly fallen, and utterly overthrown and extinct, it is the great mercy of our God and Saviour."

Touching the second cause of the Church's ruin, which is the ambition, pride, and covetousness of the bishop and court of Rome, he boldly affirmeth, that whereas the bishops of Rome (challenging the greatest place in the Church) should have sought the good of God's people, they contrarily sought only to advance themselves: "Ad imitationem Luciferi ut adorari velint sicut Dii, neque reputant se subditos esse cuiquam, 'sicut filii Belial sine jugo' [Judic. xix. 22]; nec sibi posse dici, cur ita facis? Qui nec Deum timent, nec hominem reverentur[2]." "In imitation of Lucifer, they will be adored and worshipped as Gods. Neither do they think themselves subject to any; but are as the sons of Belial that have cast off the yoke, not enduring, whatsoever they do, that any one should ask them why they do so? They neither fear God

[1] Gerson, Part I. Sermo. in die circumcisi. consid. I. [Vol. II. 61.]

[2] Gerson, post tractatulum, De unitate Ecclesiæ, addit quatuor considerationes ad fulcimentum præmissorum. In quarto habentur hæc verba: ["Forte aliquibus videretur quod sit expediens Ecclesiæ Universali redire omnia ad pristinum statum Ecclesiæ, seu illius qui fuit tempore Apostolorum, quantum fieri congrue posset:—vel redeundum esset ad statum Ecclesiæ tempore Sylvestri et Gregorii, quando quilibet Prælatus dimittebatur in sua jurisdictione et solicitudinis parte, et Papa tenebat quæ sua erant absque tot reservationibus, etc."] Gerson, de Concil. generali unius obedientiæ. [Vol. II. 27.]

nor reverence man." Whereupon he feareth not to deliver the opinion of many good and worthy men in his time; that there being a schism in the Church, by reason of the contention of the three popes, which continued for a long time in that age wherein he lived, it were good to take the advantage of the time, and never to restore to any pope again that universal administration of the temporalities of the Church, and swaying the jurisdiction of the same; but that it were best, that all things were brought back to that state they were in in the times of the apostles, or at least in the times of Sylvester and Gregory, when each prelate in his own jurisdiction was permitted to govern them committed to his charge, and dispose of the temporalities belonging to the Church, without so many reservations and exactions as have been since brought in[1]; the popes in time getting all into their own hands, with so many abuses, frauds, and simonies, all serving to maintain the state of the Romish Church, and of that head thereof, which long since grew too heavy for the body to bear[2].

Neither was this the private opinion and conceit of Gerson only; but Petrus de Aliaco, Cardinalis Cusanus, Picus Mirandula, and innumerable more of the best, wisest, and holiest men the Church had, saw those abuses, errors, uncertainties, and barbarisms, wherewith the glory of the Church was greatly blemished and almost quite defaced; and wished and expected a reformation. Yea, nothing was more certainly looked for a long time before Luther was born, than the ruin of that pompous state of the Church; the staying of the furious, covetous, and tyrannous proceedings of the court and bishop of Rome; and the freeing of the Church from that Egyptiacal bondage wherein it was holden.

[1] Gerson, part I. De potestate Ecclesiæ: "Papa ita præsideat bonis Ecclesiasticis, ut de iis statum habere sufficientem et decentem oporteat; sed non ita ut caput gravidum membra reliqua obruat mole sua." [Vol. II. p. 28.]

[2] Gerson, De signis ruinæ Ecclesiæ: "Moderno tempore unusquisque interpretari et trahere non veretur sacram Scripturam, jura sanctorumque Patrum instituta, ad libitum suæ voluntatis," etc. [Opera, Vol. II. p. 312.]

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE DESIRE AND EXPECTATION OF A REFORMATION OF THE CORRUPT STATE OF THE CHURCH: AND, THAT THE ALTERATION WHICH HATH BEEN IS A REFORMATION.

WHEN the pope[1] resolved to accurse, anathematize, and excommunicate Grostead, the renowned bishop of Lincoln, because he contemned his papal bulls and letters (who was therefore in his time named *Romanorum malleus et contemptor*), the cardinals opposed themselves; saying, he was a right good man, and holier than any of them; the things he charged the pope with most true; and that therefore it was not safe thus to proceed, lest some tumult should follow; especially, say they, seeing it is known there must be a departure from us, and a forsaking of the Roman see. The same Grostead, a little before his death, complaining of the wicked courses holden by the Romanists (whose scourge he was), said, the Church should never find any ease from the oppressive burthens laid upon her, nor be delivered from the Egyptiacal bondage she was holden in, till her deliverance were wrought *in ore gladii cruentandi*, in the mouth of the sword all bathed in blood.

Savonarola[2], holden by many for a prophet, surely a renowned man for piety and learning, told the French king, Charles the Eighth, he should have great prosperity in his voyage into Italy, and that God would give the sword into his hand; and all this, to the end he should reform the corrupt state of the Church; which if he did not perform, he should return home again with dishonour, and God would reserve the honour of this work for some other: and so it fell out. At that time when Luther began to reprove the abuses of the Church of Rome[3], things were in so bad state,

[1] Innocentius IV. in Mattheo Paris. Hist. Angliæ, in Hen. III. p. 872. "Nonne rex Anglorum noster est vasallus et ut plus dicam mancipium?" Papam antichristum [Grossetest] pronunciat. p. 875. "Ejus avaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis: ejus luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis." P. 876.

[2] Philip de Comines, lib. viii. cap. 2. He preached that the state of the Church should be reformed by the sword, &c.

[3] Guicciardini, Hist. lib. xiii.

that not only the blood of Christ was profaned, the power of the keys by abuse made contemptible, and the redemption of souls out of purgatory set as a stake at dice by the pardon-sellers; but so many grievances there were besides, that all the world sighed under the burthen of them, and wished that some man of heroical magnanimity would oppose himself. When God had stirred up so noble an instrument, what did the pope and his adherents? Surely, as Guicciardine reports[1], there were that year many meetings in Rome, to consult what were best to be done. The more wise and moderate sort wished the pope to reform things apparently amiss, and not to persecute Luther, lest continuing those intolerable disorders, abuses, and villanies (whereof all good men complained), and persecuting him that reproved them with so great applause of the whole Christian world, men should think innocency, virtue, and piety in him to be persecuted and oppressed; and so be incensed against so pertinacious and stiff maintainers of the Church's confusions. This counsel would not be followed: whence ensued this alteration of things we now see, resisted by the pope and papists, set forward by many Christian countries, kingdoms, and states, and long before wished for and foretold before it came to pass. For, what is now done in this reformation, which Cameracensis, Picus, Savonarola, Gerson, and innumerable other worthy guides of God's Church, long before thought not necessary to be done? as appeareth by what we have already delivered touching that matter.

Thus, then, it being evident, that the number of laws[2], canons, and customs, formerly in use, and by us taken away, was a burthen to the Church, and an ensnaring of men's consciences; that in the feasts, fasts, holy days, worship of God, and honour of his saints, there were abuses in that very kind which we have reprehended; and that a reformation was wished for; and the popes were so far from setting it forward, that when they saw the states of the world ready to accomplish it (even with division of themselves from them),

[1] Guicciardini, Hist. lib. xiii.

[2] "Reformatio Ecclesiæ [universalis] fieri non potest [in moribus] sine abolitione multorum statutorum super excommunicationibus et ceteris traditionibus nimis multiplicatis," etc. Gerson, De Concilio unius obedientiæ. [Vol. II. p. 26.]

they would in no sort consent unto it, though the wisest about them persuaded them to it, as the likeliest way to keep all in quietness; seeing it was necessary for the good of the Church to free itself from that bondage it was formerly holden in under the pope taking all into his own hands by innumerable sleights, and treading down under his feet the crowns of kings and jurisdiction of bishops (as hath been shewed, and proved out of authors not to be excepted against); seeing in matters of doctrine, wherein we differ from them, we found uncertainty, contradiction, and contrariety; some saying that we now say, and others that which they defend, and the things they defend not having the consenting testimony of other Churches in the world; as of Armenia, Grecia, Æthiopia, &c., nor the certain approbation of antiquity; and the places of Scripture on which they were grounded being most apparently mistaken, as now, in this light of the world, they themselves are forced to confess; seeing it is certain there was great ignorance of tongues, and all parts of good learning[1], neglect of the study of Scripture, and mixture without judgment of things profane with divine[2]; seeing innumerable errors, superstitions, barbarisms, and tautologies, were crept into the prayers of the Church[3]; seeing there was great corruption, ignorant mistaking, and shameless forgeries of the monuments of antiquity and writings of ecclesiastical

[1] Picus, Theor. viii. loquens de erratis glossatoris, "non mirum est, inquit, ætatis vitium fuit; perierunt enim tum et in desuetudinem abierunt bonæ literæ, et excultiores disciplinæ pessundabantur."

"Hæc non referrem, nisi conduceret in commune, notari scriptorum hujusmodi non dicam imperitiam, sed impudentem arrogantiam, perinde quasi pecudibus aut truncis scribat non hominibus." Erasm. in Scholiis in præfat. Hier. in Pentateuchum Mosis. [Vol. iv. fol. 6. Ed. 1516.]

[2] "Bonaventura recedit a curiositate quantum potest, non immiscens positiones extraneas, vel doctrinas seculares, dialecticas aut physicas terminis theologicis obumbratas, more multorum: unde factum est, ut ab indevotis scholasticis, quorum (proh dolor) major est numerus, ipse minus extiterit frequentatus." Gers. de exam. doct. [Vol. i. 21.]

[3] "Multa quæ in decretis nominantur Apocrypha, et ita apud Hier. habentur, nihilominus in officiis divinis leguntur: multa item quæ apud nonnullos vera non creduntur." Picus, Theo. vi. "Non abhorrerent hodie a lectione officii viri docti, quemadmodum faciunt, propter barbariem nescio quam Latinitati et compositioni additam." Platin. in vita Gregor. I.

authors in favour of errors then maintained[1], which have been detected in this age wherein learning is revived, and with and out of learning, the purity of religion; seeing it was long before resolved, the Church must be reformed[2]; that this reformation was never likely to be obtained in a general council, and that therefore several kingdoms were to reform themselves[3]; seeing it was then feared, the proceeding in this reformation, thus severally, without general consent, would breed too great difference in the courses that would be taken, as we see it hath now fallen out, to the great grief of all well-affected who mourn for the breaches of Sion; seeing, notwithstanding this disadvantage, in that one part of Christendom knew not what another did in this work of reformation, nor consulted with other, that so they might proceed in the same in one and the same sort, yet it so fell out by the happy providence of God, that there is no essential, fundamental, or material difference among those of the reformed religion, whose confessions of faith are published to the view of the world; howsoever the heat, ignorant mistaking, and inconsiderate writings of some particular men, and the diversity of ceremonies, rites, and observations, make show of a greater division than indeed there is: it is most undoubtedly clear and evident, if we be not wilfully blinded, that this alteration of things in our times was a reformation, and not, as our adversaries blasphemously traduce it, an heretical invocation[4].

[1] "Sunt meo judicio illa de Constantino apocrypha; sicut fortassis etiam quædam alia longa et magna scripta sanctis Clementi et Anacleto Papæ attributa. In quibus volentes Romanam sedem, omnem laude dignam, plusquam Ecclesiæ sanctæ expedit et decet, exaltare, se penitus aut quasi fundant." Cusan. Concord. Cath. iii. cap. 2. See the censure of Erasmus and others, upon the books falsely attributed to Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and the rest.

[2] Gerson, Part III. Dial. Apolog. judicium de Concilio Constantiensi. [II. 392. "Video quod Ecclesiæ reformatio nunquam fiet per Concilium sine præsidentia ductoris affectati."]

[3] "Remotiones statutorum et canonum antiquorum, aut additiones novorum, fieri nequeunt rationabiliter pro tota Ecclesia, sine consensu communi; alias posset esse statim diversitas nimia in moribus et judiciis.—Nolo tamen dicere quin in multis partibus possit Ecclesia per suas partes reformari, immo hoc necesse esset; sed ad hoc agendum sufficerent Concilia Provincilia." Gerson, De Concilio unius obedientiæ. [Vol. II. 26.]

[4] [It would seem that "invocation" (and it is so in the old edition) was a misprint for *innovation*. Ed.]

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE FIRST REASON BROUGHT TO PROVE THAT THE CHURCH OF ROME HOLDETH THE FAITH FIRST DELIVERED, BECAUSE THE PRECISE TIME WHEREIN ERRORS BEGAN IN IT CANNOT BE NOTED.

NOTWITHSTANDING, to stop the mouths of our adversaries, whom a spirit of contradiction hath possessed, and to satisfy all such as be any way doubtful, I will, by application of the notes of the Church formerly agreed upon, examine the matter of doubt, and answer all such reasons as from thence are taken, and by them urged against us, either for proof of their profession and faith, and the soundness of their own Church, or reproof of ours. The first note assigned by them is Antiquity; by which they understand, not simply and absolutely long continuance in the profession of Christianity, but, the retaining and having that faith which was first delivered to the saints by the apostles, the immediate and prime witnesses of the truth which is in Christ. Let us therefore see how they endeavour to make proof that they now hold that ancient profession. This they endeavour to demonstrate three ways. First, it being confessed the Church of Rome was the true Church, established in the faith of the blessed apostles, and the *faith thereof commended and renowned throughout the world*, they think they can prove there hath been no change, alteration, or departure, from that sincerity which sometimes was found in it. Secondly, they offer to shew the consent and agreement of that form of doctrine they now teach, and that the fathers of the primitive Church did teach in their times and commended to posterity in their writings. Thirdly, they presume they can shew, that our doctrine, who dissent from them, is nothing else but the renewing of old heresies long since condemned in the best times of the Church by consent of the whole Christian world. If they could as easily prove these things, as they confidently undertake it, there were no resisting against them. But, seeing they fail therein so much that very children may discern their weakness, therefore I will propose whatsoever I find alleged by any of them in this

kind that carrieth any show of probability, that all men may see how weakly their persuasion is grounded in these things which are of greatest consequence. First, therefore, let us see how they prove that there hath been no change in the doctrine, discipline, profession, and state of the Roman Church since the apostles' times.

In every great and notable mutation, say they[1], may be observed the author, the time, place, beginnings, increasings, and resistance made against it. But the Protestants are not able to note these circumstances in that mutation in matters of religion, which they suppose hath been in the Church of Rome: therefore it is evidently convinced there hath been no such mutation. For the more full answering of this objection we must observe, that there are four kinds of mutation or change in matters of religion. The first, when the whole essence of religion is changed: such is the change from Paganism to Christianity, or from Christianity to Paganism. The second, when the essence remaining the same, the state is changed: such was the change of Judaism into Christianity; there being in the latter new sacraments, ceremonies, and a new ministry, that was not in the former, and the performance of that which was but in expectation only before. The third is, when, not the whole essence and state of religion, but some parts of it only are so changed, that some impugning and denying those things which others always did and do hold most certain, the opposition is so great that there groweth an apparent separation between them, the one sort refusing to communicate with other: as when the Arians denied the Son of God to be co-essential, co-equal, and co-eternal with his Father. The fourth, when men so bring in new opinions and observations into the Church, that yet both they, and other not led away by the same error, hold communion still. In the three first kinds of mutation, all those circumstances they speak of may be noted; but not always in the fourth. Now the mutation in matters of faith and religion which hath been in the Roman Church, is of the

[1] Bellar. Tom. I. Contro. 4, Lib. iv. cap. 5. De Nota Antiquitatis. ["In omni insigni mutatione religionis semper ista sex demonstrari possunt: 1. Auctorem ejus. 2. Dogma aliquod novum. 3. Tempus quo cœpit. 4. Locus ubi cœpit. 5. Quis eam oppugnaverit. 6. Exiguus aliquis cætus qui paulatim crescere cœperit."]

fourth and last sort: for the errors thereof were so brought in, that both they that were the authors of them, and others that never fell into them, were both of one communion; as I will make it most clear and evident in that which followeth. And therefore it is most absurd to require us to shew these circumstances they speak of.

Secondly, for the better clearing of this matter, we must note, that the aberration which hath been in the Church of Rome from her ancient purity and simplicity, consisteth in four things. First, in certain canons, laws, and traditions, evil and hurtful from the beginning. Secondly, in the multitude of laws and canons in respect of the number growing to be a burden. Thirdly, in that the state of things and conditions of men altering, the same constitutions and ordinances become hurtful that were formerly good; or, in that things instituted to one end are, in process of time, applied to another; or, evil and dangerous opinions, corrupting the use of that which was not wholly to be misliked in the beginning, are newly added. Fourthly, in errors in matters of faith. Touching that aberration of the Church of Rome which consisteth in the bringing in of laws, canons, and constitutions hurtful from the beginning, we can note the beginning of it, and assign who were the authors of such laws. But, when the laws themselves are not evil, but the number of laws, canons, and constitutions is a burden to the Church, and the evil complained of, it is most foolish to urge us to shew the first author thereof. As likewise when laws, not evil in the beginning, by alteration of times grow hurtful; or, when things from one use grow to another. Hugo de Sancto Victore noteth[1], that the custom was to communicate little children in the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood: which being in time ceased, yet still they continued in his time to give wine (though not consecrated) to children new baptized, which he confesseth to be a superstitious and foolish custom; yet it is not possible to shew the beginning of it. The aberration in the Church of Rome in matters of doctrine was in such things, and so carried, in the beginning, that the authors of those new and false opinions were not disclaimed and noted as damnable heretics, as were those

[1] Eruditionis Theologicæ de Sacramentis, Lib. I. cap. 20. [Quoted above, ch. 9.]

that erred in things most clearly resolved before, or, that erred with such pertinacy that they divided themselves from all that thought otherwise; but the authors of these errors, and they that were free from them, were, notwithstanding these differences, both of one communion. And, therefore, the circumstances by them required in these mutations cannot be shewed, as it will easily appear by these instances following.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF DIVERS PARTICULAR ERRORS WHICH HAVE BEEN IN THE CHURCH, WHOSE FIRST AUTHORS CANNOT BE NAMED.

THE opinion of two resurrections of men's bodies, the first of the good, the second of the wicked (there being between the one and the other a thousand years), was an error, but the author of it is not known. For I hope the Romanist will not say the fathers learned it of any heretic, the first author of it. The opinion, that the souls of the just are in hell, and see not God till the general resurrection, was an error; but they cannot tell who was the first author of it. The opinion, that all Catholic Christians, how wicked soever, shall in the end be saved as by fire, was an error; but the author is not known. The opinion, that men are elected for the foresight of something in themselves, is an error, or else, the doctrine of Augustine, who was of that opinion sometimes, but afterwards condemned it in himself and others. The opinion, that infants could not be saved, unless they were not only baptized, but did receive the sacrament of the Lord's body, was an error; but the author of it is not known. The opinions, that the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the Maccabees, and the like, are apocryphal, and that they are canonical, are contradictory; and the one of them an error in matter of faith: yet is not the author of that error known. The innumerable contradictory opinions holden in the Church

[1] See the ninth chapter of this book, where they are named that defended these erroneous opinions, whose authors and first devisers are not known. [See below, ch. 16, sq. and the Appendix.]

of Rome touching matters of faith, as that the pope is sovereign temporal lord of all the world, and all kings and princes hold of him in fee, and that he is not[1]; that he may depose kings erring in faith, and persecuting the faithful, and that he may not; that papally he cannot err, and that he may, and sometimes doth; and many other like, must needs be errors on the one side or the other: yet is not the author of those errors to be nominated.

It was doubtless, in the confession of the adversaries, the custom of the Western or Latin Church, as well as of the rest, to communicate in both kinds[2]: when and where that custom of communicating the lay people only in one kind began, cannot be precisely noted. It was the custom to impose penance first, and after the performance of it, to give absolution[3]; now, absolution is first given, and then penance imposed to be performed afterwards: when this alteration began it cannot be noted. It was the general opinion that Mary was conceived in sin; it grew afterwards to be generally thought she was not: the first author of this latter opinion cannot be known, nor of the former neither, as I suppose[4]. The custom was to grant indulgences, or relaxations only, from enjoined penance; the form of these was afterwards altered[5]: I think it can hardly be noted by whom,

[1] Bellar. lib. v. De Potestate Temporali Pontificis, cap. 1. ["Primo ostendemus pontificem jure divino non habere directe temporalem potestatem."]

Waldensis (Doctrinalis Fidei, lib. II. art. 3, q. 78) negat potestatem Papæ quoad regna principum; et Sigebertus in Chronico an. 1088.

Stapleton (Controv. 3, q. 4.) proponit contrarias opiniones de infallibili Papæ judicio, et ait, non esse de fide quod non possit errare. ["Hæc media veritas est nunc apud Catholicos certa et recepta, etsi non de fide." Opera, I. 706.]

[2] Liquet ex lectione antiquorum, eucharistiam laicis in manus datam olim, nunc in os: olim dominicum sanguinem fistulis hauriebant; "siquidem etiam nunc Romanus Pontifex quoties publice sacrificat, aureo calamo sugit sanguinem dominicum e calice, cum diacono et subdiacono." Rhenanus in annot. in lib. Tertul. de Corona Militis. [p. 42. ed. 1597.]

[3] "Apud veteres absolutio nisi satisfactione purgatis fere non impertiebatur." Lindan. panopliæ lib. iv. c. 70.

[4] Bonavent. lib. iii. dist. 3, q. 2.

[5] Cajet. opusculorum, Tom. I. tract. 15, c. 7. "Servavit Ecclesia multo tempore hunc stilum, ut exprimeret in literis relaxationem ab

&c. The custom was, on the days which they kept as fasting days, not to eat till three o'clock in the afternoon, or till the even; so that to dine and not to fast were synonymies in the primitive Church[1]; but in the Romish Church they did dine on their fasting days, and therefore said the evensong between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning: I think it hard to note precisely the time when this alteration began. Thus then we see there may be and have been many alterations in the state of religion and matters of faith in the Church of Rome, though all those circumstances they urge us to shew cannot be noted in them. And, therefore, the first reason brought to prove that the Romish Church is not departed from her first and original purity, is found too weak.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE SECOND REASON BROUGHT IN TO PROVE THAT THEY HOLD THE ANCIENT FAITH, BECAUSE OUR MEN, DISSENTING FROM THEM, CONFESS THEY DISSENT FROM THE FATHERS; WHERE SUNDRY INSTANCES ARE EXAMINED.

LET us see the other. The other way whereby they endeavour to prove the antiquity of their faith and religion, is, by shewing the agreement and consent between it and the doctrine of the primitive fathers. This, say they, they cannot do, but either by proposing the several parts of Christian doctrine delivered by the fathers, and comparing the doctrine of their Church with it; or, out of our own confession. The first course, they think, would be too tedious; and therefore they endeavour to prove, by our own con-

injunctis pœnitentiis," etc. in tantum, ut dubitet an Papa dederit aliquando, "indulgentiam, non solum ab injunctis, sed a quomodolibet debitis pœnis pro peccatis:" et tamen fatetur, Petrum Paludanum, et Johannem Monachum in extravaganti Bonifacii VIII. de Jubilei expositione, tale aliquid referre, et formam plenariæ indulgentiæ tale aliquid probare agnoscit: sed ait, "editam illam formam secundum opinionem illam, valde, ut videtur, communem; scilicet, quoad indulgentia liberet ab injunctis et non injunctis pœnis."

[1] Lindan. Panopl. lib. III. c. 11.

fession, that the doctrine of the Church of Rome and of the ancient fathers is all one.

The greatest divines, say they, of the reformed Churches, when they impugn the assertions of the Romanists, confess they go against the stream of all antiquity: therefore they are forced to confess the doctrine of the fathers and of the Church of Rome to be all one. This is a vile and wicked calumniation, neither are they able to justify it[1]. But let us see what they say. Calvin, they say, in the article of free will, condemning the Roman Church of error, is forced to reject and refuse the judgment of all antiquity. For the clearing of this, we must observe, that the will of man may be said to be free in divers sorts: first, from all necessity of seeking and having divine support, help, and assistance: secondly, from divine direction and ordering: thirdly, from sin: fourthly, from misery: fifthly, limitation of desire, natural necessity, and constraint. These being the divers kinds that may be conceived of the freedom of man's will; Calvin denieth the will of man to be, or ever to have been, free from the necessity of seeking and having divine support, help, and general assistance, without which it hath no force or faculty at all. Secondly, he denieth it to be free from divine direction, ordering, and guidance: for, in this sort, neither the wills of men nor angels were so free in the day of their creation, as to exempt themselves from the ordering of the divine providence, which most sweetly disposeth all things. Thirdly, from misery there is no freedom in this world, nor from the bondage of sin, without the benefit of grace making free. "Habemus," saith Bernard[2], "liberum arbitrium, sed nec cautum a peccato, nec tutum a miseria." "We have free will, but neither so wary as to avoid sin, nor so safe as to be free from danger." From limitation of desire, natural necessity, and constraint, he confesseth the will to be free, though it be subject to a conditional or moral necessity which

[1] Bellar. lib. IV. cap. 9. De Conciliis, et Ecclesia. ["Calvinus in sua Institutione cum nostræ oppugnat, passim fatetur se repugnare toti antiquitati, ex quo sequitur nostram esse omnino antiquitati consentaneam." Sic igitur ait, lib. ii. cap. 2, § 4. "*Semper apud Latinos nomen liberi arbitrii extitit, apud Græcos vero* αὐτεξούσιος *vocabulum multo arrogantius.* Et infra § 8. *Ego vero neque ipse, hujusmodi vocem usurpare velim, et alios si me consulant, abstinere optarim.*"]

[2] De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. [§ 12. Opera, p. 608.]

by Bernard is most aptly named *male libera necessitas.* The will of man being thus overruled by divine providence, and in so divers sorts enthralled to sin and misery, Calvin thinketh the titles of *αὐτεξούσιον* and *liberum arbitrium,* taken from the philosophers and used by the fathers, to be too glorious to express a thing so weak and miserable; and that in his opinion it is not safe to use these words, unless we add, for the clearing of our meaning, the limitations with which the fathers do restrain them; which, yet, many will not so carefully observe, as they will unadvisedly suck the poison of error out of the words themselves. Thus, then, we see, Calvin confesseth, the fathers used these words in a good and godly sort.

But, saith Bellarmine[1], he feareth not to pronounce, that all the fathers (Augustine excepted) are so uncertain, perplexed, and doubtful in the delivering of this point, that a man can gather no certainty out of them. Surely it is most true that he saith of them, they are doubtful and uncertain in this point; yet so that it appears, that in this ambiguity, ascribing little or nothing to the power of man's will, they give all the praise of well-doing to the Holy Spirit of God. To this purpose he allegeth sundry excellent sentences out of Cyprian, Eucherius, and Chrysostom; and concludes, that it was the drift of these fathers, howsoever they seem sometimes too much to amplify the power of man's will, yet wholly to drive men from the confidence in their own strength, to seek their strength in God. This then is all that Calvin saith, that, before Augustine was stirred by the Pelagians exactly to examine these things that concern the grace of God and power of nature, the fathers delivered not this point so distinctly as afterwards it was, nor so fully, but that some things were found in their writings not so fit as was to be wished[2]. That this is most true, the writings of the fathers themselves will witness, and the testimonies

[1] [Ib. "Dicit (Calvinus) omnes veteres, excepto Augustino, in hac re plus æquo extulisse humanas vires et de libero arbitrio aut variasse aut vacilasse, ut nihil certi ex eorum scriptis sumi possit."]

[2] Calvin. Instit. lib. II. cap. 9. [Magnum mihi præjudicium attulisse forsan videar, qui Scriptores omnes Ecclesiasticos (excepto Augustino) ita ambigue aut varie in hac re locutos esse confessus sum, ut certum quidpiam ex eorum scriptis haberi nequeat."]

alleged out of them by the Pelagians against Augustine will sufficiently prove it[1]; which are no otherwise answered by him than they are by Calvin; that their drift was to deject the pride of sinful flesh, and extol the greatness of God's mercy and goodness; that if they spake some things not so distinctly and fully as men did afterwards, it is not to be marvelled at, seeing they did not purposely enter into the examination of these things, before the Pelagian heretics (whose heresy was in these things) were known in the world[2].

For the farther justifying of Calvin's censure, let the reader consult Sixtus Senensis, alleging many testimonies out of the fathers, affirming that men are elected to eternal life for the foresight of something in themselves[3]. And, surely, this should not seem incredible, that many of the fathers were in this error, seeing Augustine himself was of this opinion, before he entered into conflict with the Pelagians; which error when he corrected, most men disliked his doctrine touching election, the grace of God, and power of nature, as it appeareth by the epistles of Prosper and Hilarius, for that he seemed unto them to ascribe so much unto the grace of God, and detract so much from the power of man's will, that they greatly feared his doctrine would weaken that carefulness that should be in men to arise from sin, discourage them from all good endeavours, and give an occasion of negligence and careless slothfulness. That which Bellarmine addeth, that Calvin disliketh that saying of Augustine, "that man's

[1] Prosper. in Epist. ad Augus. de reliquiis Pelagianæ hereseos. "Obstinationem suam vetustate defendunt, et ea quæ de epistola Apostoli Pauli ad Romanos scribentis, ad manifestationem Dei gratiæ prævenientis electorum merita proferuntur, a nullo unquam Ecclesiasticorum ita esse intellecta, ut nunc sentiuntur, affirmant."

[2] Aug. de Prædestinatione Sanctorum, c. 14. [§ 27.] "Quid opus est ut eorum scrutemur opuscula qui priusquam ista hæresis oriretur non habuerunt necessitatem in hac difficili ad solvendum quæstione versari." Eodem modo respondet Bellarminus de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, lib. II. cap. 14. ["Respondet idem Augustinus in libro, 'De bono perseverantiæ' [c. 20] veteres Patres qui ante Pelagium floruerunt quæstionem istam nunquam accurate tractasse sed incidenter solum."]

[3] Bibliothecæ Sanctæ, lib. VI. annot. 251. Epistolæ Prosperi et Hilarii inter opera Augustini.

will concurreth with grace, not as precedent unto it, but as following after it, and as handmaid attending on it," is most false; for he approveth the saying of Augustine, but reproveth the Master of Sentences for misunderstanding and misapplying it[1].

That which followeth, that Calvin dissenteth from Augustine in the matter of justification, is of the same nature[2]. For he saith only, that though nothing be to be disliked in the matter itself delivered by Augustine, for that it is plain[3], that, acknowledging the imperfection of inherent justice, and thinking it our greatest perfection to know our own imperfections and seek remission of our sinful defects, he cannot but acknowledge the imputation of Christ's righteousness to be that, in confidence whereof we stand in the sight of God; yet his manner of delivering this article is not so full, perfect, and exact, as we are forced to require in these times against the errors of the Romanists; for, that when he speaketh of grace, he seemeth, for the most part, to understand nothing else thereby, but that sanctification whereby the holy Spirit of God changeth us to become new creatures; seldom mentioning the imputation of the righteousness of Christ.

That which Bellarmine chargeth Calvin with, in the next place[4], argueth his intolerable impudence. Calvin, saith he,

[1] Calvin. Instit. lib. II. cap. 3, 7. ["Erunt forte qui concedent voluntatem a bono suapte ingenio aversam soli Domini virtute converti: sic tamen ut præparata, suas deinde in agendo partes habeat: quemadmodum docet Augustinus, omne bonum opus gratiam præcedere, et id comitante non ducente; pedissequa, non prævia voluntate; quod non male a sancto viro dictum, præpostere huc detorquet Pet. Lombardus."]

[2] Ibidem Calvin. lib. III. cap. 11. § 15. ["Quod non adeo impurum in illo (sc. Augustino) erat, corrumpit Lombardus."]

[3] In libro De perfectione Justitiæ [§ 33]. "*Cum rex justus sederit in throno, quis gloriabitur castum se habere cor, aut quis gloriabitur mundum se esse a peccato?* Nisi forte isti, qui volunt in sua justitia non in ipsius judicis misericordia gloriari." Cf. Ps. cxlii. § 6.

Et Hieron. contra Pelagianos, lib. I. "Tunc justi sumus cum nos peccatores fatemur, et justitia nostra non ex proprio merito, sed ex Dei consistit misericordia." [Opera, IV. ii. 490.]

[4] Ibidem, lib. II. 143. ["Hic excusari non potest veterum error, qui dum ad Mediatoris personam non attendunt, totius fere doctrinæ quæ in Evangelio Joannis agitur genuinum obscurant sensum seque implicant multis laqueis."]

doth think, that the Son of God is subject to the Father in respect of his Deity; which because all the fathers deny, he pronounceth they all erred, and that their error cannot be excused. Let the reader peruse the place, and he shall find that Calvin saith no such thing, but the clean contrary.

Indeed, Hugo de S. Victore, in his questions on the first Epistle to the Corinthians, xv. saith, that Christ is subject to his Father according to his divine nature; and sheweth that many have been of that opinion[1]. But Calvin saith no such thing; neither doth he charge the fathers with any error touching the distinction of the natures of God and man in Christ, or the unity of his person; but saith only, that, some of them applying those things distinctly to one of the natures of Christ which are applicable to the whole person of the mediator, entangle themselves in some doubts which otherwise might easily be cleared; which will easily appear by that place of Hugo before mentioned. The kingdom, saith Hugo, which Christ shall deliver to his Father, and so become subject unto him, either was given unto him in that he was God: and then he cannot resign it, nor become subject to his Father, because in that respect he is equal unto him; whence we say, "æqualis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem:" or, in that he was man: and that seemeth not conceivable; for the nature of man is not capable of that infinite power that is implied in the kingdom which God gave his Son. He answereth, that he may be said to be subject

[1] ["Quæritur, secundum quam naturam Filium subjectum Patri dicat. Nam si secundum divinam, eo minor erit; quod falsum est; quia secundum divinitatem æqualis est Patri. Item si secundum humanam hoc sit dictum, tunc secundum eam omnia sunt subjecta ei; et secundum humanam est Dominus omnium, quare et Creator, et sic secundum eamdem, videtur esse æqualis Patri; secundum quam minor eo est; unde legitur, *æqualis Patri, secundum divinitatem; minor Patre secundum humanitatem.*

"Solutio: potest hoc sane intelligi secundum utramque naturam; sc. divinam et humanam. Secundum humanam omnia sunt subjecta ei; secundum quam ad æqualitatem Patris sublimatus est, dum verbo consubstantiali Patri in unam personam humana natura unita est, secundum quam plenitudinem donorum et ipse accepit.—Item secundum divinam naturam quidam sic intelligunt, quod subjectus est Filius Patri, quia ab eo habet esse, a quo habet quicquid habet.—Unde Pater principium Deitatis dicitur." Opera, Vol. I. 429.]

to his Father, in that he is God, because though he have the same essence with him, yet he hath received it from him. How aptly this may be said, I will not now examine: but, how in this sense He may be said to give up his kingdom to his Father, is yet more hard to conceive.

Ambrose saith[1], He may be said to give it up, not by real resigning of that he had, but by bringing us to his Father, and shewing us that fountain whence he received it, and all that fulness whereof we are partakers. These are doubts which, Calvin saith, the fathers do not clear, attributing the kingdom of Christ unto him distinctly, in respect of this or that nature. But he affirming that the kingdom of Christ doth not agree unto him distinctly or severally in respect of this or that nature, but to the whole person considered in both natures, easily expresseth himself. For, saith he, God gave to his Son by eternal generation the same essence he had in himself, and with it the same power and kingdom; and this he shall never resign. Secondly, he gave to the nature of man, not by formal transfusion, but in the person of his Son (which in the admirable work of incarnation he bestowed upon it, to support and sustain it), all that power he had originally in himself, and eternally gave his Son[2]; so that the Son of God, after the taking of our nature into the unity of his person, administereth not his kingdom without the union, knowledge, assent, and co-operation of the nature of man; which he shall continue to do while we need mediation, and till he have brought us to his Father's presence, and to the clear view and sight of his majesty. Then shall he cease to rule in this sort any more; his human nature shall not need to be interposed any longer, but he shall appear in the glory of his Godhead: then shall he be subject to his Father in the nature of man, in more special sort than now he is; because, though now he be inferior unto God in that he is man, and so subject to him, yet that nature of man

[1] In 1 Corinth. xv. "Filius ostendet illis non se esse ex quo omnia, sed per quem sunt omnia: et hoc erit tradere regnum Deo et Patri." [Opera Ambrosii, III. p. 426, ed. 1596.]

[2] Hereunto agreeth Hugo in the place above mentioned, saying: "Secundum humanam naturam ad æqualitatem Patris sublimatus est dum verbo consubstantiali Patri in unam personam humana natura unita est." [See note 1, p. 199.]

intermeddleth with the administration of the kingdom in such sort as then it shall cease to do, though it shall never lose that power and kingdom which in the person of the Son of God it is honoured with.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF LIMBUS PATRUM, CONCUPISCENCE, AND SATISFACTION; TOUCHING WHICH CALVIN IS FALSELY CHARGED TO CONFESS THAT HE DISSENTETH FROM THE FATHERS.

THE next imputation is touching *limbus patrum*[1], supposed to be a place below in the earth, near hell, if not a part of hell; which Calvin pronounceth to be but a fable, though it have great authors and patrons: as if this were so strange a thing, that a fable and mere fancy should find approbation among some of the fathers. The opinion of the Millenaries, I suppose, Bellarmine thinketh but a mere fancy: yet had it great and reverend patrons. If he say that all the fathers did hold the opinion of *limbus*, and that Calvin opposeth himself against them all, he is clearly refuted by Augustine, who doubted of it[2]. Besides, that their popish *limbus*, supposed to have been a receptacle for the souls of the patriarchs, but only till the death and resurrection of Christ, as being then emptied by him, is a mere private conceit of their own, wanting the testimony of the most

[1] Ibid. lib II. 16, 9. ["Hæc fabula tametsi magnos auctores habet, et hodie quoque a multis serio pro veritate defenditur nihil tamen quam fabula est. Nam concludere in carcere mortuorum animas puerile est: Christi autem animam illic descendere, ut eas manumitteret quid opus fuit."]

[2] In Epist. xcix. [§ 8=164.] ad Evodium. "Unde illis justis qui in sinu Abrahæ erant, cum ille in inferna descenderet, nondum quid contulisset inveni, a quibus eum secundum beatificam præsentiam suæ divinitatis nunquam video recessisse." Et ibid. [§ 7.] "Quia ne ipsos quidem inferos uspiam Scripturarum in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in divinis authoritatibus legitur, non utique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secretæ cujusdam quietis habitatio aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda est." [Opera, II. 748.]

ancient fathers; for Tertullian, Irenæus, and others, did think the souls of all men to be holden in hell till the last day[1]. And if it were resolved that there was such a *limbus*[2], as they fancy, yet their schoolmen are not agreed of the place; neither dare they affirm that it was below in the earth, though they seem most inclinable to that opinion.

The next false report that Bellarmine maketh of Calvin is, that he opposeth himself against all antiquity, in the question whether concupiscence in the regenerate be sin or not. This he endeavoureth to make good in this sort. Calvin, saith he, professeth, that Augustine hath truly and faithfully gathered the opinions of the fathers, and that his judgment is their judgment: but he opposeth himself against Augustine, therefore against all the fathers.

This assumption we deny. For, Calvin no way dissenteth from Augustine, but saith only, it may seem that there should be some little difference between Augustine and us; for that we affirm that concupiscence in the regenerate to be sin; but he is fearful to call it sin, unless it be consented unto; naming it rather an evil, sickness, infirmity, or the like. But elsewhere taking away this doubt, he saith, that Augustine feareth not sometimes to call it sin: whereby the consent and agreement between Augustine and Calvin appeareth. It were easy to shew, that not only Augustine, but the fathers generally, were of the same opinion that we are of, and that the popish opinion is a most dangerous and damnable error, if this were a fit place to enter into the exact handling of that question.

But let us see the rest of his objections. Calvin, saith he, in the matter of satisfaction, chargeth all the fathers with

[1] Supra, cap. 9.

[2] Ib. lib. III. 3, 10. ["Neque opus est multum investigando laborare, quid hic veteres senserint: quando unus Augustinus sufficere ad id potest, qui fideliter magnaque diligentia omnium sententias collegit.—Porro inter illum et nos hoc discriminis videri potest interesse, quod ipse quidem quum fideles concedat, quamdiu in corpore mortali habitant, sic illigatos teneri concupiscentiis, ut non possint non concupiscere, eum tamen morbum peccatum vocare non audet.—Nos autem illud ipsum pro peccato habemus, quo aliqua omnino cupiditate contra legem Dei homo titillatur.—Docemus itaque in sanctis, donec mortali corpore exuantur, semper esse peccatum; quia in eorum carne residet illa concupiscendi pravitas."]

error[1]. This is as true as the rest. For, Calvin doth not say they erred in this matter of satisfaction; for he sheweth plainly, that they were far from the absurdity of the popish conceit: but he saith, disjunctively only, that either they erred, or at least used some phrases or forms of speech that may seem hard, and need a good and favourable construction, rather than be wrested to a worse sense than they were uttered in, as the manner of the popish sophisters is to deal with the writings of the fathers.

For the clearing of this matter we must observe, that in sin there are two things: the sinfulness, and the punishment which for it the justice of God inflicteth. Both these are taken away by Christ, but in a different sort: the sinfulness, by the operation, working, and infusion of grace; and the punishment by the imputation of Christ's sufferings, who suffering that he deserved not, freeth us from that we were deservedly to have suffered. From one of these we cannot be freed, unless also we be freed from the other; and in what degree we are delivered from the one, we are discharged from the other: if we be freed only from the dominion of sin, we are only discharged from the condemnation of eternal death; if from all sinfulness, we are discharged from all touch of any punishment. But the Romanists do teach touching sins committed after baptism, that God contenteth not himself with the most perfect abolishing and extinguishment of all sinfulness, by working of divine grace, and the satisfaction of Christ's sufferings; but that he doth require that we suffer the extremity of that we have deserved, only some little mitigation procured by the bloodshed of Christ, and the eternity excepted, from which our ceasing from sin doth free us; the punishment of sin being eternal because sin is eternal[2].

[1] Ib. lib. III. 4, 38. ["Parum autem me movent quæ in veterum scriptis de satisfactione passim occurrunt. Video quidem eorum nonnullos (dicam simpliciter, omnes fere quorum libri extant) aut hac in parte lapsos esse, aut nimis aspere ac dure locutos: sed non concedam eos ipsos adeo fuisse rudes et imperitos, ut eo sensu illa scripserint quo a novis istis satisfactionariis leguntur."]

[2] "Pœna æterna mutatur in temporalem in remissione culpæ: temporalis magna et supra vires, in temporalem quæ viribus competit, in sacerdotis absolutione." Alex. de Hales, part IV. q. 83, memb. I. art. 1, 2.

"God upon our repentance pardoning the sin and the eternal

Hence it cometh that they teach, that if we will not suffer and endure the extremity of punishment we have deserved, we must make some other recompense to God's justice for it[1]. This is a blasphemous assertion, and contrary to the doctrine of all the fathers, who know and teach as we do, that the justice of God and his wrath against sin is satisfied in Christ: that this satisfaction is imputed to us, not continuing in, but ceasing from sin: that, according to the degree of our ceasing from sin, this satisfaction is diversely imputed; so that if we cease from sin, only so that it hath no more dominion over us, it is imputed in such sort as it dischargeth us only from condemnation; but if we wholly cease from sin, it is so imputed unto us, as that it freeth us from all punishment whatsoever: so that if there were found in any of us a perfect leaving and forsaking of sin, God's justice would lay no punishment upon us. But the Romanists think it might and would for precedent sin, though now wholly forsaken and quite abolished.

It is true indeed, that the fathers sometimes used the name of satisfaction in their writings, but to another purpose than the Romanists do. They knew that evils are cured by contraries; and, therefore, in the curing of sinful souls they prescribe that which Calvin also doth, that men having offended in yielding too much to their own desires, pleasures, delights, and profits, should, for the freeing of themselves from the evil of sin, deny something to themselves which otherwise they might lawfully enjoy; which if they do not, they shall, in the punishments which God will bring upon them, taste the bitterness of that that seemed sweet unto them in sin. This exercise of repentant mortification the fathers called satisfaction; not as if the justice of God were not satisfied in Christ, or we were tied, yea, though we should wholly forsake sin, yet to satisfy for that is past, by suffering so much as our sins have deserved, or else to do some painful thing equivalent to such sufferings; which is

punishment due unto it, through Christ, doth exact of every man a temporal satisfaction answerable to the fault committed." Reformat. of a Deformed Cathol. by D. B. P. cap. 6, of Satisfaction. [By Dr. William Bishop.]

[1] "Sane ubi prorsus de medio factum fuerit omne peccatum, causa quidem omnino sublata, nec ipse quoque deinceps manebit effectus." Ber. in Psal. Qui habitat. Serm. x. [§ 4. Opera, p. 855.]

the popish error: but, because we must do that, in this kind of repentant mortification, which may be sufficient for the finding out of the depth of that wound which sin hath made in the soul, for removing the causes of it, the extinguishment of that remaineth of it, the taking away the occasions, and the preventing of the re-entrance of it again. This if we do, we shall prevent the hand of God, which otherwise would smite us, not to be satisfied in the course of justice (which at our hands cannot be looked for, and which is abundantly satisfied in Christ, and would not touch us for anything past, if by perfect forsaking of sin we were fully joined unto Him), but, to drive us by bitter sorrow to purge out that sinfulness and those remainders which our precedent sins left behind them, in respect whereof we are not yet fully joined to Christ. These remainders of sin, if we dislike, cast off, and forsake, and judge and condemn ourselves as the apostle speaketh, we shall not be judged of the Lord for them. This happy course, of preventing the hand of God, and turning away his punishments by bitter and afflictive recounting of our sins, the fathers call satisfaction. Some sayings of the fathers, it may be, there are which are hard, and must with a favourable construction be reduced to the sense we have expressed: and that is all that Calvin saith; for which how justly he is blamed, let the reader judge.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF PRAYER FOR THE DEAD; AND MERIT.

THE next calumniation is concerning prayer for the dead[1]. Let the reader observe what it is that Bellarmine is to

[1] Ib. lib. III. 5. 10. ["Quum ergo mihi objiciunt adversarii, ante mille et trecentos annos usu receptum fuisse, ut precationes fierent pro defunctis, eos vicissim interrogo, quo Dei verbo, qua revelatione, quo exemplo factum sit. Neque enim hic Scripturæ testimonia desunt tantum; sed quæcumque illic leguntur Sanctorum exempla, nihil tale ostendunt.—Verum ne glorientur adversarii nostri, quasi veterem Ecclesiam erroris sui sociam habeant.—Agebant illi memoriam mortuorum, ne viderentur omnem de ipsis curam abjecisse, sed simul fatebantur se dubitare de ipsorum statu."]

prove, and he shall find that he doth nothing but trifle. For he is to prove that Calvin confesseth that, more than a thousand and three hundred years since, the popish doctrine and custom of prayer for the dead did prevail, and was generally received in the whole Church of God throughout the world. This if he will prove, he must reason thus. The custom of praying to deliver the souls of men out of the pains of purgatory, is the custom and practice which the Roman Church defendeth and Calvin impugned: but this custom Calvin confesseth to have been in use more than a thousand and three hundred years since: therefore he acknowledgeth the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church to be most ancient, and to have been received a thousand and three hundred years ago. The minor proposition of this reason is false: and Calvin, in the place cited by Bellarmine, protesteth against it; most constantly affirming, that the fathers knew nothing of purgatory, and therefore much less of prayer to deliver men from thence. But Bellarmine will reply, that the custom of praying for the dead was most ancient. We answer, the custom of remembering the departed, naming their names at the holy table in the time of the holy mysteries and offering the eucharist (that is, the sacrifice of praise) for them, was a most ancient and godly custom, neither is it any way disliked by us. And surely it appears, this was the cause that Aerius was condemned of heretical rashness, in that he durst condemn this laudable and ancient custom of the commemoration for the dead[1]. In this sort they did most religiously observe and keep, at the Lord's table[2], the commemoration of all patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and confessors, yea, of Mary the mother of our Lord; to whom it cannot be conceived, that by prayer they did wish deliverance out of purgatory, since no man ever thought them to be there: but if they wished anything, it was the deliverance from the power

[1] Epiph. Hæres. lxxv. § 3.

[2] Liturgia Chrysostomi. "We offer this reasonable service, that is, the eucharist of praise and thanksgiving, to thee, O Lord, for all that are at rest in the faith of Christ, even for the patriarchs, prophets," &c. [*προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπανομένων προπατόρων, πατέρων—καὶ παντὸς τινὸς ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου.*]

of death, which as yet tyrannizeth over one part of them; the speedy destroying of the last enemy, which is death; the hastening of their resurrection; and joyful public acquittal of them in that great day wherein they shall stand to be judged before the Judge of the quick and dead. This was the practice of the whole Church, and this the meaning of their commemorations and prayers, which was good and no way to be disliked. Notwithstanding, it is most certain that many particular men extended the meaning of these prayers further, and, out of their own private errors and fancies used such prayers for the dead, as the Romanists themselves, I think, dare not justify. And so it is true, that Calvin saith, that many of the fathers were led into error in this matter of prayer for the dead, and not that all, as if the whole Church had fallen from the truth, as Bellarmine falsely imputeth unto Calvin, who saith no such thing.

First, therefore, it was an opinion of many of the fathers, that there is no judgment to pass upon men till the last day; that all men are holden either in some place under the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose, so that they come not into heaven, nor receive the reward of their labours till the general judgment. Out of this conceit grew that prayer in James's liturgy[1], that God would remember all the faithful that are fallen asleep in the sleep of death, since Abel the just till this present day; that he would place them in the land of the living, &c. And the like are found in the mass-book. Of this opinion was Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Romanus, Lactantius, Victorinus Martyr, Ambrose, Johannes Romanus Pontifex[2], and sundry others[3].

The second opinion was, that men may be delivered from the punishments of sin after this life, if they die in the profession of the true faith, how wickedly soever they lived; or

[1] Liturgia Jacobi ii. ["Præstet illos dignos venia delictorum et remissione peccatorum; nosque et illos pervenire faciat ad regnum suum in cœlis." Renaudot, II. 37, and the notes, p. 104.]

[2] Sixtus Senensis Bibliothec. Sanct. lib. vi. annot. 345.

[3] Gers. Serm. in Festo Paschæ, "*Hodie* (inquit Christus) *mecum eris in Paradiso*," Lucæ xxiii. 43. "Propter quod insuper apparet falsitas doctrinæ Papæ Joh. xxii. quæ damnata fuit cum sono buccinarum vel tubarum coram rege Philippo avunculo tuo per Theologos Parisienses, de virgine beata, et credidit potius Theologis Parisiensibus quam curiæ." [Opera, II. 1205.]

at least, if the punishment of such be eternal and cannot be ended, yet it may be deferred or mitigated. How many of the fathers were in this error, and made prayers for the dead upon this false persuasion, that all Christians, how wickedly soever they lived, may find mercy at God's hands in the world to come at the entreaty of the living, they that have read anything can soon report.

Thirdly, whereas there are three estates of the souls of men: the first, in the body; the second, when they are severed from the body, and stand before God immediately and instantly upon the dissolution; and the third, after they have received their particular judgment; the godly do not only recommend them unto God while they are yet in their bodies[1]; but when, departing thence, they go to stand before the judgment-seat of God, they accompany them with their prayers and best good wishes, even to the presence of the Lord. Hence were all those prayers that were used on the days of the obits of the saints conceived, respectively to their passage out of this world and the dangers they do, by the goodness of God, escape in that fearful hour of their dissolution; which prayers were again repeated in the anniversary remembrances of their obits. Of this sort was that prayer in the mass-book[2]. "Libera, Domine, animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni, et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas Tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum," etc. "Deliver, O Lord, the souls of all faithful ones departed, from the pains of hell and the deep lake; deliver them from the mouth of the lion, that hell swallow them not up, and that they fall not into the dungeon of utter darkness." How hard this was, to use these prayers in a set course, in the days wherein they did only commemorate and represent the days of men's departure hence, and so to pray for them long after their death, as if they were but even then in the passage, and so in danger of falling into the hands of their ghostly enemies and not yet secure and assured of their eternal future state (which, yet, Bellarmine confesseth[3], is the

[1] Preces pro commendatione animæ apud Cassandrum in lib. Precum Ecclesiast. [Op. p. 385.]

[2] Officium pro defunctis in anniversariis.

[3] Bellar. lib. II. cap. 5. De Purgatorio. ["Altera solutio est, quod Ecclesia vere orat quantum ad intentionem suam ut animæ liberentur

best construction that can be made of them), I leave to the consideration of the wise. These are the several kinds of praying for the dead; all which, I hope, Bellarmine dareth not justify. But, for the Romish manner of praying for the dead, it hath no certain testimony of antiquity; no man ever thinking of purgatory, till Augustine[1], to avoid a worse error, did doubtingly run into it; after whom many in the Latin Church embraced the same opinion; but the Greek Church never received it to this day. Thus, then, we see how unjustly Calvin is traduced by Bellarmine in this matter of prayer for the dead; and how weakly he proves that it is confessed that their opinion and the doctrine of antiquity is the same. His next challenge is scarce worth the mentioning, much less the refuting[1]. Calvin saith, the fathers were far from the popish error touching merits, and that yet they used the word; whence men have since taken occasion of error: therefore he dissenteth from all antiquity, and acknowledgeth the Roman faith to be the ancient faith and religion. Truly I am weary in following him in these senseless fooleries[2].

a pœnis purgatorii, tamen utitur eo modo loquendi, quasi animæ tunc migrarent a corpore, et in periculo essent æternæ salutis, quia commemorat, et representat diem depositionis sive obitus; ut enim in celebritatibus festorum incarnationis, natalis, etc. Domini, Ecclesia ita orat, ac si tunc deberet Christus vel incarnari, vel nasci, etc., quia repræsentat illa mysteria ut præsentia, et tamen non intendit ad litteram precari, ut verbum carnem assumat aut nascatur de Virgine, etc. sed ut nobis applicetur fructus eorum mysteriorum; ita quoque in sacrificio pro defunctis, quia commemoratur dies obitus illorum, Ecclesia ita pro illis orat, ac si tunc morerentur: et tamen intendit orare ut liberentur ab inferno eo modo, quo liberari possunt, id est, ut non detineantur diutius in illis pœnis, vel ut refrigerium aliquod doloribus misceatur."]

[1] [In Ps. xxxvi. § 3. See also Canisius, Opus Catechisticum, p. 358. ed. 1606.]

[2] Ib. lib. III. 15, 2. ["De meriti nomen id mihi præfari necesse est; quicunque primus illud operibus humanis ad Dei judicium comparatis aptavit, eum fidei sinceritati pessime consuluisse.—Usi sunt, fateor, passim vetusti Ecclesiæ Scriptores;—quamquam nonnullis ipsi quoque locis testantur quam non præjudicare veritati voluerint."]

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE FATHERS' STRICTNESS IN ADMITTING MEN INTO THE MINISTRY; OF SINGLE LIFE; AND OF THEIR SEVERITY IN THE DISCIPLINE OF REPENTANCE.

THAT which followeth is altogether of the same kind[1]. Calvin saith, the fathers were too severe in that they required more in them that were to be ordained to serve in the holy ministry of the Church, than the blessed apostle St Paul doth require: therefore, saith Bellarmine, he dissenteth from all antiquity, and confesseth Romish doctrine and practice to be most ancient. This consequence is very weak: for the Romanists retain nothing of that ancient severity, but break all the canons of discipline that the fathers observed, by their ordinary dispensations, or rather, dissipations of all order and neglect of all orderly government. For, where is that canon observed, that no man attain to the order and degree of a presbyter till he be thirty years of age[2]: that no man be ordained loosely, or at random, but to be employed in some certain charge of ministry[3]: that one man have no title, interest, and living, in two Churches[4]; whereas, in the Church of Rome, one man hath

[1] Ib. iv. 4. § 10. ["Peccarunt hic nonnihil immodica severitate, quod plus requirere voluerunt in Episcopo quam Paulus requirat, ac præsertim temporis successu cœlibatum."]

[2] Synodus [quini] Sex. cap. xiv. [*ὁ τῶν ἁγίων θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν κρατείτω κανὼν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὥστε πρεσβύτερον πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι, κἂν πάνυ ᾖ ἄνθρωπος ἄξιος, ἀλλὰ ἀποτηρεῖσθαι, ὁ γὰρ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν, ὁμοίως μήτε διάκονος πρὸ τῶν εἰκοσιπέντε ἐτῶν μήτε διακόνισσα πρὸ τῶν τεσσεράκοντα χρόνων χειροτονείσθω.*] Neocæsariensis, can. 11. [*πρεσβύτερος πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μὴ χειροτονείσθω, ἐὰν καὶ πάνυ ᾖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄξιος, ἀλλὰ ἀποτηρείσθω, ὁ γὰρ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐφωτίσθη καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν.*]

[3] Synodus Chalcedonensis, can. 6. [*μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὅλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐκκλεσιαστικῷ τάγματι, εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, ὁ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττοιτο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονουμένους ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, καὶ μηδαμοῦ δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖν ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος.*]

[4] Gers. Declarat. defectuum virorum Ecclesiasticorum. ["Quod

two hundred or three hundred ecclesiastical livings: that men ambitiously and covetously go not from one Church because it is meaner, to another because it is greater[1]? Calvin therefore was not so ignorant as to think the Romanists to be too severe in the observation of discipline, and therein to be like the primitive fathers: he saith therefore the clean contrary to that which Bellarmine imputeth unto him; that in the choice of such as were to be admitted into the holy ministry, the fathers of the primitive Church followed the prescription of Saint Paul, and the examples of the blessed apostles; that they proceeded therein with very great and religious reverence, and invocation of the name of God; that they had a set form of trial and examination, according to which they made enquiry both into the life and doctrine of them that were to be chosen; but that, contrariwise, in the Church of Rome, there have been very few found to have been chosen for the space of an hundred years last past; that the old canons reject not as wholly unworthy of ecclesiastical honour and employment, as drunkards, adulterers, sodomites, and the like monsters; to pass by less matters, as that boys of ten years of age, by the pope's dispensations, have been admitted to bishoprics. The Church of Rome, then, by her practice, condemneth the whole course of proceeding in former times, which Calvin reverenceth as most religious, and wisheth that things were brought back to that ancient order again: only he saith, that the fathers of those times may seem a little to have exceeded in too much severity, in that they required more things in them that were to be elected, than the blessed apostle St Paul doth. This censure need not seem so strange unto us, if we remember that such as had been baptized by heretics, or when they were in fear and danger of death[2], which were named *clinici* in those times,

clerici in duabus civitatibus et Ecclesiis præbendas vel præbationes non habeant." Opera, II. p. 314.]

[1] Synodus Sardicensis, can. 1. [*μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐξῇ ἀπὸ πόλεως μικρᾶς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν μεθίστασθαι.—οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε εὑρεθῆναι ἐπισκόπων δεδύνηται ὃς ἀπὸ μείζονος πόλεως εἰς ἐλαχιστοτέραν πόλιν ἐσπούδασε μεταστῆναι, ὅθεν συνέστηκε διαπύρῳ πλεονεξίας τρόπῳ ὑπεκκαίεσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους.*]

[2] Concilium Neocæsari, can. 12. [*ἐὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται,—οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ,*

might not (unless their conversation, learning, and deserts, afterwards were very highly approved), be admitted into the ministry; that he which had married a widow, though he were now free, she being dead, might not enter into the degree and order of ministry[1]; that he which had one wife, yea, though it were before he became a Christian, or were baptized; and, after his being a Christian, his first wife being dead, married another, was judged incapable of ministerial order; against which Jerome declaimeth in his epistle to Oceanus: "Behold," saith he, "men suppose adulteries, whoredoms, incests, sodomitries parricides, impieties against God, and whatsoever things are so wicked that they are not to be named, are washed away in baptism, and that after all these horrible crimes a man may be admitted to the ministry, as being washed from them in the laver of new birth; but if a man had a wife before, which was no crime; and after his baptism, she being dead, marry another, he may not. Thus these hypocrites" (for so in the heat of his passion he calls them) "do strain at a gnat and swallow a camel[2]." For this

ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης,—εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων.]

Cornelius, speaking of Novatus's ordination, saith, many withstood the fact, affirming that none baptized in bed, as he was, should be admitted into ecclesiastical order. Eusebius, lib. VI. cap. 43.

[1] Concilium Teleptense, can. 5. ["Ut is, qui laicus viduam duxerit, non admittatur ad clerum."] Leo in Epist. Episcopis per Campaniam, etc. ne viduarum mariti. [cap. 11. "Constat ad sacerdotium pervenisse viduarum maritos, quosdam etiam quibus fuerint numerosa conjugia, et ad omnem licentiam vita liberior ad sacrum ordinem passim patefactis aditibus fuisse permissos, contra illam beati apostoli vocem, qua talibus exclamat, dicens: *unius uxoris virum:* et contra illud antiquæ legis præceptum, quo dicitur et cavetur: *Sacerdos virginem uxorem accipiat, non viduam, non repudiatam.* Hos ergo, quicumque tales admissi sunt, ab Ecclesiasticis officiis, et a sacerdotali nomine, Apostolicæ Sedis autoritate jubemus arceri." Opera, p. 112 ed. Venet. 1748.]

[2] [Epist. 82, als. 83, inter Opera IV. 2, 648. "Certe de baptizatis apostoli sermonem esse, nemo dubitat. Si ergo omnia quæ in ordinatione quæruntur episcopi, non præjudicant ordinando, licet ea antè baptisma non habuerit (quæritur enim quid sit et non quid fuerit) quare solum nomen uxoris impediat, quod solum peccatum non fuit? Dicis quia peccatum non fuit, idcirco non est dismissum in baptismate. Rem novam audio: quia peccatum non fuit in peccatum reputabitur. Omnia scorta, et publicæ colluvionis sordes, etc. mutata natura, Christi

Ruffinus challengeth him as a contemner of the constitutions and decrees of the fathers, though he shew that innumerable, not only presbyters, but bishops, were in all the parts of the world admitted, contrary to the prescript of these pretended canons. That which Calvin addeth, that in process of time they forbade marriage and forced all them that would enter into the holy ministry to live single, was never general nor in one sort.

In the council of Nice[1], Paphnutius dissuadeth the bishops from putting those of the clergy from the matrimonial society of their wives; affirming, that marriage is honourable among all men, and the bed undefiled; and that the forcing of single life would bring many evils into the Church. This counsel and persuasion of Paphnutius was not only yielded unto by the fathers of that council, but in the sixth general council, the fathers there assembled condemned the practice of the Roman Church in forbidding marriage[2], not only as hard, injurious, and being an occasion of many evils, but as contrary to the canons of the apostles of Christ: from whence it is, that all the Churches of the world, the Church of Rome only excepted, admit married men, continuing in the state of marriage, into the holy ministry; as the Churches of Armenia, Græcia, Syria, Ethiopia, and whatsoever Christians there are in any part of the world.

How long it was before this decree of forced single life prevailed in the Latin Church[3], and what resistance there

fonte purgantur; uxoris inhærebunt maculæ, et lupanaria thalamis præferentur?—Vere Scribarum et Pharisæorum similes," etc.]

[1] Socrates, lib. I. cap. 11.

[2] Can. 13. [*ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τάξει κανόνος παραδεδόσθαι διέγνωμεν, τοὺς μέλλοντας διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἀξιοῦσθαι χειροτονίας καθομολογεῖν, ὡς οὐκέτι ταῖς αὐτῶν συνάπτονται γαμεταῖς· ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐξακολουθοῦντες κανόνι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τάξεως, τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν κατὰ νόμους συνοικέσια καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐῤῥῶσθαι βουλόμεθα, μηδαμῶς αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς γαμετὰς συνάφειαν διαλύοντες ἢ ἀποστεροῦντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ καιρὸν τὸν προσήκοντα ὁμιλίας.* Harduin, III. p. 1665.]

[3] Sigebertus in Chronico, 1074: "Gregorius Papa celebrata Synodo—uxoratos sacerdotes a divino officio removit, et laicis missam eorum audire interdixit—ex qua re tam grave oritur scandalum, ut nullius hæresis tempore, sancta Ecclesia graviori schismate scissa sit:—continentiam paucis tenentibus, aliquibus eam [modo] causa quæstus et jactantiæ simulantibus, multis incontinentiam perjurio aut multipli-

was made against Pope Hildebrand for the same by the whole clergy of Christendom, calling him heretic, monster, and enemy of mankind, author of all mischief, impurity, and confusion, the histories of those times report; affirming that upon the publishing of that his decree, there followed such disturbance of the peace of the Church, such confusions, indignities, contempts, and profanations of all holy things, as that the Church was never so grievously and dangerously afflicted in any of her most bloody persecutions under the heathen emperors, nor in her greatest conflicts with heretics. What good success this decree had after it prevailed, and what a pure and holy clergy it representeth to the world, let Gerson report[1], who acknowledgeth that the places of holy ministry were possessed by adulterers, wantons, sodomites, and such like monsters; that the number of the offenders in this kind was so great, as that there was no proceeding against them; that the canons against concubinaries notoriously so known, requiring all men to refrain from communicating with them, could not now be continued; that it were best to allow them to keep harlots, for the avoiding of greater evils, and to tolerate their wickedness in that kind, as the stews are permitted.

Thus then I hope it doth appear to be true that Calvin saith, that they did ill deserve of the Church, that forced her ministers to single life; and that the speech of Pope Pius the Second was most true[2], that what reason soever they had that forbade marriage in former times, there were more reason in our times to leave it free again.

Now let us proceed to consider this next exception against

ciori adulterio cumulantibus, etc. Laici sacra mysteria temerant,—baptisant infantes, sordido aurium humore pro sacro Chrismate utentes." Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, fol. 212, sic scribit, "Hildebrandus Papa cum Episcopis Italiæ decreverat, ut presbyteri uxores non habeant, habentes aut dimittant, aut deponantur:—adversus hoc decretum vehementer infremuit tota factio clericorum, hominem plane hæreticum et vesani dogmatis esse," etc. Sigebertus in Chronic. Ann. 1085. "Hildebrandus moriens, confessus est Deo et Sancto Petro, et toti Ecclesiæ, se valde peccasse in cura pastorali,—et suadente diabolo contra humanum genus odium et iram concitasse."

[1] Gerson, De Vita Spirituali Animæ, lect. IV. corrolar. 14, [Opera, III. p. 51] et part 4, De Exterminatione Schismatis. [Op. II. 109.]

[2] Platina in vita Pii II.

Calvin[1], in proposing whereof he reasoneth thus: Calvin thinketh that all the fathers were of opinion, that, after the remission of sin, men must suffer the punishment their sins deserve to satisfy God's justice; and that therefore they were so severe in imposing penance on them that had offended: but this is the opinion of the Romanists, which Calvin so much disliketh: therefore he confesseth the doctrine of the Romanists to have been the doctrine of all the fathers. The major or first proposition of this reason is a most vile calumniation: for Calvin denieth that the fathers were of that opinion the Romanists are of, touching the punishments of sin after remission of them; as hath been sufficiently cleared already. Neither doth he dislike the fathers' severity upon that ground; for then he should condemn their imposing of penance absolutely, as a thing wholly unlawful, which he doth not, but most highly commendeth it: only whereas the end of these penitential corrections was, and is, to remove and take away ill examples, to provide that neither God's name be blasphemed, nor others provoked and encouraged to do evil by seeing them that offend to escape without condign punishment, and that the sinner may be brought to a right sense, knowledge, dislike, and forsaking of his sin; when it appeareth that the sinner is truly penitent, and carefully endeavoureth to satisfy the Church which was scandalised by him, there must be great consideration had, lest he be swallowed up with over much heaviness, and so fall into desperation. In this respect, Calvin thinketh those courses of ancient discipline, in putting men from the communion of the Church for the space of three, four, or seven years, and

[1] Ib. lib. IV. 12, 8. ["Quum hoc in excommunicatione quæratur ut ad pœnitentiam perducatur peccator, et mala exempla tollantur e medio, ne vel male audiat Christi nomen, vel ad imitationem alii provocentur, hæc si intuebimur, licebit facile judicare quousque progredi et ubi desinere debeat severitas. Qua in parte excusari nullo modo potest immodica veterum austeritas, quæ et prorsus a Domini præscripto dissidebat, et erat mirum in modum periculosa. Nam quum peccatori pœnitentiam solennem et privationem a sacra communione nunc in septem, nunc in quatuor, nunc in tres annos, nunc in totam vitam indicerent; quid inde sequi potuit nisi vel magna hypocrisis, vel maxima desperatio? Similiter quod nemo qui iterum lapsus esset, ad secundam pœnitentiam admitteretur, sed usque ad finem vitæ ejiceretur ab Ecclesia, id nec utile erat, nec rationi consentaneum."]

sometimes for the whole time of their life, to have been very dangerous, unless they were wisely moderated by the discretion of the pastors, as he confesseth they were; without which moderation, who does not see that they were *carnificina conscientiarum*, a cruel, bloody, and merciless tormenting and murdering of the souls of men? Now, as the severity of the primitive fathers was very great in the prescription of these canons, yet mixed, tempered and sweetened with good moderation in the execution of them, and therefore not to be disliked; so their extreme severity towards those that fell after penitency, whom they rejected and cast out of the Church without hope of a second reconciliation, cannot well be excused[1]. This denying of reconciliation to such as fell after they had once before done open and public penance the papists restrain to solemn penitency[2], which they dis-

[1] Aug. Epist. ad Macedonium 54, [als. 153, etc. "Quamvis caute salubriterque provisum sit, ut locus illius humillimæ pœnitentiæ semel in Ecclesia concedatur—quis tamen audeat dicere Deo; quare huic homini qui post primam pœnitentiam rursus se laqueis iniquitatis obstringit, adhuc iterum parcis?"] Concil. Toletan. III. can. 11. ["Quoniam comperimus per quasdam Hispaniarum Ecclesias non secundum canonem sed fœdissime pro suis peccatis homines agere pœnitentiam, ut quotiescumque peccare voluerint toties a presbytero se reconciliari expostulent; ideo pro coercenda tam execrabili præsumptione id a sancto Concilio jubetur, ut secundum formam canonicam antiquorum detur pœnitentia; hoc est ut prius eum, quem sui pœnitet facti, a communione suspensum faciat inter reliquos pœnitentes ad manus impositionem crebro recurrere; expleto autem satisfactionis tempore, sicuti sacerdotalis contemplatio probaverit eum communioni restituat: hi vero qui ad priora vitia vel infra pœnitentiæ tempus vel post reconciliationem relabuntur, secundum priorum canonum severitatem damnentur."] Erasmus in Epitaphio Fabiolæ ait Augustinum semel lapso aperire Ecclesiæ fores, relapso claudere: nec tamen huic claudere fores cœli cui claudit fores templi. Ambrosius De Pœnitentia, lib. II. c. 10. "Si vere agerent pœnitentiam, iterandam postea non putarent; quia sicut unum baptisma, ita una pœnitentia: quæ tamen publice agitur: nam quotidiani nos debet pœnitere delicti: sed hæc delictorum leviorum, illa graviorum."

[2] Bellar. lib. I. c. 21. De Pœnitentia.

"1. Pœnitentia solennis, quam Augustinus humillimam vocat, in Epist. 54, et Ambrosius, aliique patres communiter publicam appellare solent; non nisi pro gravissimis criminibus quæ totam civitatem conturbassent, magnumve scandalum attulissent, imponi consueverat.

"Publica autem non solennis pœnitentia, pro publicis quibus-

tinguish from public and open, as being imposed for sins of the highest nature; otherwise confessing that the fathers' severity cannot be excused. But, this distinction of public and solemn penitency is a mere device of their own, without any ground of authority or show of proof. For, how doth Bellarmine prove the difference of these two kinds of penitency? Surely, he saith, solemn penitency is imposed only for the most grievous crimes; public, for those that are not so grievous: but proveth it not. Further he addeth, that solemn penitency could not be twice imposed, public might, and they that had done it be admitted into the clergy; that solemn penitency could not be imposed upon married folks without consent, nor upon young folks; public might; that none but bishops might reconcile those that were enjoined solemn penitency; but, those that had been enjoined public penitency others of meaner condition might absolve. These feigned distinctions of theirs between solemn and public penitency have no testimony of antiquity[1]; but it is clear and

cumque peccatis, licet non ita gravia essent, neque scandalum afferunt, imponi consueverat.

"2. Pœnitentia solennis semel tantum concedebatur, ut patet ex Origine, (Hom. xv. in Levit.) Ambrosio, (De Pœnitentia, II. 10.) Augustino, (Epist. 64.)—Quia pœnitentia solennis, est solennis quædam professio non redeundi iterum ad publica illa scandala, sicut baptismus.

"3. Pœnitentia solennis sacerdotibus imponi non poterat; et contra, qui pœnitentiam solennem egissent ad ordines promoveri nequibant.

"4. Pœnitentia solennis non poterat imponi conjugatis sine mutuo consensu.—Cujus rei ratio est quia pœnitentibus interdicebatur officium conjugale.—Propter eandem causam juvenibus non facile solennis pœnitentia concedebatur.—Id autem locum non habebat in pœnitentia non solenni.

"5. Pœnitentia solennis a solo episcopo indicebatur et ab eodem reddebatur pax pœnitentibus, neque id presbyteris licebat, nisi in absentia episcopi, urgente necessitate.—At pœnitentiam non solennem, presbyteri quoque injungere poterant et pœnitentes reconciliare."]

Lindan. Panop. lib. IV. c. 62. Ubi reprehendit Rhenanum, qui dicit nonnullos veteres in hac fuisse opinione, et inter eos August. ["falso Aurel. Augustinum Novatianismi affinem insimulat beatus Rhenanus."]

[1] August. Seleuciæ Epist. 108 [=265] distinguit triplicem pœnitentiam: quarum "prima agitur ante baptismum:—[secundam] agunt homines, si post baptismum ita peccaverint ut excommunicari et

evident they were all one; and therefore seeing they mislike the denying of reconciliation, generally, to such as fell after public penitency, they cannot justify the fathers who did so deny it.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE LENT FAST; OF LAYMEN'S BAPTISM; AND OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

THE next allegation is touching the Lent fast[1], wherein, as in the former, Calvin is charged to condemn the judgement and practice of all antiquity. That the falsehood of this allegation may the better appear, we will lay down what Calvin liketh or disliketh in the matter of fasting in general; and, particularly, in the set fast of forty days anciently ob-

postea reconciliari mereantur:—est etiam pœnitentia, bonorum et humilium fidelium pene quotidiana, in qua pectora tundimus, dicentes *Dimitte*, etc. sed illa utique quæ humanæ fragilitati quamvis parva tamen crebra subrepunt." [Opera, II. 1169.]

[1] Ibid. lib. IV. 12, 20. ["Hujus quoque partis [sc. jejunii] observatio, sicuti est utilis, ita veteri ecclesiæ ab ipsis usque Apostolis semper fuit usitata. Quamquam ne ipsi quidem Apostoli primi fuerunt auctores, sed exemplum sumpserunt ex lege et prophetis.—Id ergo secuti sunt Apostoli quod et populo Dei novum non erat, et utile fore prævidebant.

"Sanctum ac legitimum jejunium tres habet fines. Eo enim utimur, vel ad macerandam ac subigendam carnem, ne lasciviat; vel ut ad preces ac sanctas meditationes melius simus comparati; vel ut testimonium sit nostræ coram Deo humiliationis dum volumus reatum nostrum coram ipso confiteri.—At vero semper in primis cavendum nequid obrepat superstitionis, quemadmodum antehac magno ecclesiæ malo accidit.—Et tunc passim invaluerat superstitiosa quadragesimæ observatio, quia et vulgus eximium aliquod obsequium Deo se in ea præstare existumabat, et pastores eam commendabant pro sancta Christi imitatione: quum planum sit non ideo jejunasse Christum ut aliis exemplum præscriberet, sed ut Evangelii prædicationem sic auspicando, non humanam doctrinam esse, sed e cœlo profectam reipsa comprobaret.—Non sæpius jejunat Christus (quod fieri oportuit si anniversarii jejunii legem tradere vellet) sed semel tantum.—Fuit igitur mere κακοζηλία et superstitionis plena, quod titulo ac colore imitationis Christi jejunium ornabant."]

served in the Church before the joyful solemnities of the resurrection of Christ. First, therefore, he acknowledgeth the use and necessity of fasting to be continued amongst Christians to the end of the world, as well as formerly it was amongst the Jews. Secondly, he sheweth that fasting is not a thing that God requireth in respect of itself, but, respectively to certain ends, and as serving to express and set forward the inward affections of the heart. Thirdly, he sheweth what those ends are; namely, to tame the flesh; to give a greater edge unto our prayers; to testify, express, and set forward what may be our dislike of sin, and of ourselves for sin; to testify our humiliation and dolour, proceeding from the fearful apprehension of God's displeasure; to make it appear we take no pleasure in anything till God be reconciled to us; to amerce and punish ourselves for our manifold abuses of God's good creatures; and, lastly, to shew that in holy meditations and contemplations we foretaste the sweetness of that heavenly manna which maketh us for a time to forbear to taste of any sweetness of corporal meats; thereby shewing the excellency of that spiritual life which we shall live in heaven without any of these outward nourishments, being filled with the happy fruition, vision, and enjoying of him that is the fountain of life.

The faults he findeth are, when men sever this outward exercise from the inward affection, when they think it a thing for itself respected, and commended by Almighty God, and a matter of rare and special virtue and merit in its own nature. The fathers, he confesseth, did rightly and truly deliver the nature of religious fastings; yet so, that by their exceeding great admiration and commendation of it, they may seem to have given some occasion of that erroneous persuasion, that it is in itself highly pleasing to God. This, saith Calvin, I do the rather think, for there was and appeared superstition even in their times, in the observing of that principal fast of forty days, in that both the common people thought the keeping thereof, in its own nature a thing highly pleasing God (whereas no fast is accepted but respectively to the ends above mentioned), and the fathers commended it under the name of an imitation of Christ; whereas it is plain, that Christ did not fast, principally for that end, that we should

follow his example, but to begin the new law[1], as Moses did the old: and, therefore, to take it as imposed upon us by Christ's example, in the nature of a precept, and to be done in imitation of Christ, and as being in itself a thing pleasing unto God, for that it is an imitation of his Son's action, is κακοζηλία, as Calvin rightly noteth, and not void of superstition and error.

Now that the fathers either erred themselves in this sort, or sought to abuse others, neither Calvin nor we ever thought. For, they never imagined that the principal reason that moved the authors and beginners of this fast to prescribe it was the only imitation of Christ's fast, or, because they thought it in its own nature a thing respected by God merely as an imitation of his Son's action; but that, whereas it is very fit, there be a solemn time, at least once in the year, wherein men may call themselves to an account for all their negligences, repent them of all their evil doings, and with prayers, fastings, and mournings turn unto the Lord; this time was chosen as fittest[2], both, because that herein we remember the sufferings of Christ for our sins, which is the strongest and most prevailing motive that may be to make us hate sin, and with tears of repentant sorrow bewail it, (which could no otherwise be taken away but by the blood-shed of the Son of God); as also, for that after this meditation of the sufferings of Christ, and conforming ourselves to them, his joyful resurrection for our justification doth immediately present itself unto us in the days following, in the solemnities whereof men were wont with great devotion to approach to the Lord's table, and they which were not yet baptized were by baptism admitted into the Church. Thus, then, it was not without great consideration that men made choice of this time wherein to recount all their negligences, sins, and transgressions, and to prepare themselves, by this solemn act of fasting, both for the better performance of their own duties in those ensuing days of joyful solemnity, as also, to obtain at God's hands the gracious acceptance of such as they offered unto him to be

[1] Jansenius Comment. in Concordiam Evangelicam, c. 15, in illa verba, "cum jejunasset quadraginta diebus."

[2] Bellar. lib. II. cap. 16. De Bonis Operibus in particulari, ostendit istas fuisse rationes instituendæ quadragesimæ.

entered into his covenant. For, the manner was in the primitive Church, never to present any unto baptism, unless it were in the case of necessity and danger, but only in the feasts of Easter and Pentecost[1]. Thus, then, these being the reasons moving to institute a set and solemn fast, and to appoint it at this time and season of the year, rather than any other; for the limitation of the number of days, men had an eye, as to a convenient direction, to Christ's fast of forty days in the dedication of the new covenant[2]; which number also Moses as being the giver, and Elias as being the restorer, of the old law, kept and observed before him. Not as if they had been precisely and absolutely tied by force of these examples; for then they would precisely have kept that number, which yet they did not; for, the Saturdays and Sundays deducted, which were not anciently fasted[3], neither in the Greek Church, nor in some of the Latin Churches, there remain not forty days: and, if only the Sundays be deducted, as in the Latin Church, there will want of the number; for those in *capite jejunii*, which being added to the rest, make up the number of forty, were not observed from the beginning, but added afterwards[4].

[1] Synod. Autissiodorensis, can. 18. ["Non licet absque paschæ solemnitate ullo tempore baptizare; nisi illos quibus mors vicina est, quos grabatarios dicunt."]

Leo, Epist. 4 [als. 16, p. 130.] ad universos episcopos per Siciliam constitutos, prohibet baptizare nisi tantum in festis Paschatis et Pentecostes, nec permittit in festo Epiphaniæ, licet eo die Christus putetur baptizatus a Johanne.

Rhenanus in lib. de Corona Militis; "per tempora Caroli Magni et Ludovici Augusti, neminem, excepto mortis articulo, præterquam in Pascha et Pentecoste, baptizant, ut indicant leges ab illis sancitæ, prohibentes aliis temporibus baptismum celebrari."

[2] Mat. iv. 2; Exod. xxxiv. 28; I Kings xix. 8.

[3] Ambrosius de Elia et Jejunio, cap. 10. "Quadragesima totis præter Sabbatum et Dominicam jejunatur diebus."

[4] Hanc additionem esse "valde antiquam in Latina Ecclesia, perspicuum est ex Alcuino" [De Officiis Ecclesiasticis] inquit Bellarm. lib. II. cap. 15. (De Bonis Operibus in particulari) "S. Gregorius Homil. xvi. dicit jejunium quadragesimæ constare xxxvi. diebus: tametsi enim ipse ignorare non posset addi solere iv. dies ad numerum xl. perficiendum; tamen sciebat etiam quadragesimam proprie dictam non ultra xxxvi. dies extendi." Bellar. lib. II. 16. De Bonis Operibus in Particulari.

Our divines, therefore, do teach, that fasting is commanded by Almighty God, not as a thing in itself regarded, but, respectively to those ends before-mentioned; that God hath set no certain times fasting, but that the Church may appoint, upon set and ordinary, or special and extraordinary occasions and causes, times of fasting, and that men are bound to obey.

The fast of Lent they do not dislike, but think it may be kept as a convenient tradition of antiquity (dispensable by authority of the Church, upon due consideration of times and persons), so that no false or superstitious opinions be added: but the practice of the Romanists they condemn; for that, whereas they pretend to follow the ancient custom of fasting and to be tied unto it, they retain no show of the ancient fast[1], but make a mere mock of God and man, as their own best friends are forced to confess; besides their erroneous opinions of merit and satisfaction, and gross superstition in the difference of meats. Thus then we did not put down the true and right use and exercise of fasting, but the mockery of it; and do wish that in the full establishment of the Churches, the ancient discipline of fasting, due consideration had of times and conditions of men, may be restored again. If any of our divines seem to dislike that there should be any set fasts, as being Jewish, it is not the general resolution of the Reformed Churches, but the private opinion only of some particular men, who were carried, with the hate of Romish errors and superstitions in the set fasts, to dislike them wholly: which advisedly I see not how they could do; and I am well assured, many of very great esteem do allow and approve the use of them.

[1] "Jejunia nostra quæ et vini copia natant, et piscium varietate carnis superant delicias, adeoque cum Deo ludere videntur; dum pro intercepto qui ex ovis oritur calore, olei flammas, vini æstum, omnisque aromatum generis ignes helluoni infarciunt stomacho, veteribus Christianis omnino fuisse non modo incognita, sed et intolerabilia, adeoque abominanda [constat].—Jejunium quod antea non nisi ad novem horam tertiam sive ad pomeridianam solvebatur, ante meridiem nobis interrumpitur, atque eam in rem non modo mysteria, sed et vesperæ suum mentientes tempus anticiparentur.—Extremam tantum jejunii prisci umbram hodie apud plerosque videamus in Ecclesia Catholica reliquam." Lindan. Panopliæ, lib. III. cap. 11.

The next objection is most frivolous. Calvin saith, laymen long since presumed in times of necessity to baptize[1]: wherein, whether they did well or not, the fathers, in those times wherein they were suffered thus to do, could not nor did not resolve. What can be inferred of this? Whether they did well or not, Calvin saith, the fathers were not resolute; and he thinketh their doing can hardly be excused from usurpation of that which no way pertained to them: therefore, saith Bellarmine, he dissenteth from all antiquity, and confesseth the doctrine of the Romish Church to be most ancient. Let Bellarmine give us leave to reason from his speeches in the same sort, and he will soon perceive that he hath wronged Calvin. Bellarmine saith, the fathers were doubtful whether, if men, not yet baptized, should attempt to baptize, it were baptism or not[2]; he pronounceth peremptorily it is: therefore he dissenteth from all antiquity. As likewise they doubted, whether baptism administered sportingly, were true baptism or not[3]: he and his consorts make no question of it: therefore they dissent from all antiquity.

But, let us proceed to the next allegation. Calvin saith, it is most certain that all antiquity is clearly against the Romish doctrine of the real sacrificing of Christ in the blessed sacrament, and that the fathers did most rightly conceive of this sacred mystery, without derogating any way from the sufficiency and plenitude of Christ's sacrifice. A man would hardly think any man would allege this place to prove that Calvin confesseth the doctrine of the fathers and the opinion of the Romanists are all one: and yet this doth the Jesuit: so forcible and powerful he is in reasoning, that what a man most constantly denieth, he can prove he affirmeth. But he

[1] Ibid. lib. IV. 15, 21. ["Quod autem multis abhinc sæculis adeoque ab ipso fere Ecclesiæ exordio usu receptum fuit, ut in periculo mortis laici baptizarent, si minister in tempore non adesset, non video quam firma ratione defendi queat. Ne ipsis quidem veteribus qui hunc morem vel tenebant, vel patiebantur, constabat an recte id fieret."]

[2] Lib. I. cap. 7. De Sacramento Baptismi.

[3] August. (De Bapt. contra Donat. lib. VII. cap. 53) non audet definire, sed ait expectandam Dei revelationem: at Bellarminus (De Sacramentis in Genere, lib. I. cap. 28,) ait definitum in conciliis, scilicet Florentino et Tridentino.

will say, that Calvin in the same place doth except against the fathers. Surely, he saith, he thinketh they cannot be altogether excused, in that they so much urged the mystical sacrificing of Christ's body in the sacrament, and thereby made it carry a kind of show of a new, and newly repeated, sacrifice; for that, by misconstruction of that they meant well, others turned the sacrament into a new offering of the Son of God for the quick and dead. The reason, doubtless, that moved the fathers so much to urge that mystical sacrificing of Christ in the blessed Sacrament was, for that they lived in the midst of Jews and Gentiles, both whose religion consisted principally in sacrifice. The fathers, therefore, to shew that Christian religion is not without sacrifice, and that of a more excellent nature than theirs were, did much urge that Christ once offered for the sins of the world upon the altar of his cross, is daily in mystery offered, slain, and his blood poured out, on the holy table; and, that this sacrifice of Christ slain for the sins of the world, thus continually represented and living in our memories, is the sacrifice of Christians. If any man shall allege, that these were reasons sufficient to move the fathers to speak as they did notwithstanding any occasions of error that might by ignorant men be taken, Calvin doth not pertinaciously resist, for he said only what he thought; not peremptorily judging or condemning those, whom so just and good causes have made honourable in the Church for ever.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE INVOCATION AND ADORATION OF SAINTS, TOUCHING WHICH THE CENTURY WRITERS ARE WRONGFULLY CHARGED TO DISSENT FROM THE FATHERS.

THUS, then, I hope it appeareth, that Calvin doth not confess that the doctrine of the Romanists hath any testimony or approbation of antiquity. Bellarmine, therefore, passeth from him to the writers of the Centuries, in whom he hopeth to find something for his purpose: but they

stead him as little as Calvin did[1]. Let us therefore take a view of that he saith. Touching free-will, justification, merits, and the like, there is nothing in them but that which hath been sufficiently, I hope, cleared in Calvin; the things they say being the same. Only two things I find imputed to them by Bellarmine, and not to Calvin. For first they are supposed to acknowledge the popish invocation of saints to have been in the time of the fathers, and allowed by them[2]. Secondly, they are charged to blame the fathers, for magnifying too much the excellency of martyrdom, the praises whereof, Bellarmine saith, they dislike, because they will not admit that martyrdom is a kind of baptism serving for the expiation and washing away of sin[3].

Touching the invocation of saints, it is evident it was not known in the first ages of the Church, nor approved by the primitive fathers. But because it hath mightily prevailed in these latter times, and the superstition and idolatry therein committed hath been such as cannot be excused; therefore, for the better answering of Bellarmine's cavils, and the satisfying of ourselves and others, let us consider from what grounds, and by what degrees, it entered into the Church.

First, there was in the Church from the beginning a true and certain resolution, that the saints departed do, in general, tender, respect, and wish well unto, their brethren and fellow-servants whom they have left behind them in the warfare of Christ in this world. Secondly, men grew afterwards to think, that men departing out of this world carry with them the remembrance of the state of things wherein, departing hence, they leave them; and, that out of their love, which never falleth away, they do most carefully recommend unto God the particular necessity of their brethren made known unto them while they lived there. Thirdly, from hence it came, that men entreated their friends yet living, that if they prevented them, and came before them into Christ their master's joyful and happy presence, being freed from the dangers, miseries, and evils of this present life, they would

[1] Ibid. [De Notis Ecclesiæ, IV. 9.]

[2] Centur. III. cap. 4, col. 83. ["Videas in doctorum hujus sæculi scriptis non obscura vestigia invocationis sanctorum."]

[3] Centur. III. 4, col. 85. ["Martyrium immodice extulerunt omnes hujus ætatis doctores."]

not forget to recommend them unto God that are in them still[1]. Fourthly, whereas by an ancient custom, they did remember the names of the departed at the Lord's table, giving thanks unto God that had made them so glorious in their life and death through his goodness, and praying him by their examples to frame them to the like; and, besides, kept the anniversary remembrances of the days of their death, as if they had been their birth-days, with all tokens of joy[2], in the orations they made to set forth the goodness of God towards them and to propose their example for imitation, they did sometimes, by way of apostrophe, speak unto them as if they had been present and had sense and apprehension of that they spake, whereof they were yet doubtful, as appeareth by Gregory Nazianzen[3], Jerome[4], and others: and, not contented thus to commune with them, they entreated them, if they had any sense or knowledge of things in this world, to be remembrancers for them and the Church here below. This was a kind of doubtful compellation and soliciting of them, if their state were such as that they could take notice of these things, that they would not forget to procure the good of their brethren; but was no invocation, which is a retiring of ourselves in all our needs, necessities, and dis-

[1] "Si quis istinc nostrum prior divinæ dignationis celeritate præcesserit, perseveret apud Dominum nostra dilectio, pro fratribus et sororibus nostris apud misericordiam patris non cesset oratio." Cypr. Epist. LVII. [p. 206.]

[2] "Nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, etc. Nec ibi erigimus altaria in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro sacrificium immolamus, ad quod sacrificium sicut homines Dei qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt suo loco et ordine nominantur: non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur." Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. XXII. cap. 10. "Sacrificia pro iis semper ut meministis offerimus quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus." Cypr. Epist. XXXIV. [p. 109.]

[3] Oratione in laudem Gorgoniæ: "si hoc præmium sanctis animabus a Deo confertur, ut ista persentiscat," etc. [*εἰ δέ τις σοὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐστι λογός, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς ὁσίαις ψυχαῖς ἐκ Θεοῦ γέρας, τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαισθάνεσθαι.* Opera, I. 189.] Et in Julianum [Orat. III.] alloquitur pias animas imperatorum, dicens, "si quis mortuis sensus," etc. [*ἄκουε ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίου ψυχή, εἴ τις αἴσθησις.* Ib. p. 50.]

[4] In Epitaphio Nepotiani [ad Heliod. Ep. XXXV. p. 266.] "stupet animus, manus tremit, caligant oculi, lingua balbutit; quicquid dixero, quia ille non audit, mutum videtur."

tresses, with assured hope of help, to him that we hope can stead us in what distress soever we be.

This, then, though the fathers did sometimes; when they had particular occasion to remember the saints and to speak of them, by way of apostrophe turn themselves unto them, and use words of doubtful compellation, praying them, if they have any sense of these inferior things, to be remembrancers to God for them; yet shall our adversaries never prove that they did prostrate their bodies, bow their knees, or make prayers to them in a set course of devotion; but this both adoration and invocation of saints and angels was directly condemned by them. We honour the saints, saith Jerome, but do not worship or adore any creature, neither angels, archangels, nor any name that is named in this world, or that which is to come[1]. The council of Laodicea, reported by Theodoret, directly condemneth this kind of adoration and invocation, not of saints only, but of angels also[2].

The popish distinction of *latria* and *doulia* doth not answer these authorities and testimonies of antiquity: for those erring miscreants mentioned by Paul, the council of Laodicea, Theodoret, Epiphanius, and others, did not think the angels to be God, or equal to the Most High, neither did they worship them in such sort as to ascribe infinite greatness unto them, which the papists mean by their *latria;* but they gave spiritual worship and adoration unto them in an inferior and lower degree, such as the papists call *doulia,* because they thought them to mediate between God and mortal man in very excellent sort. Either then the fathers condemned these without cause for worshipping creatures; or, they meant

[1] Adversus Vigilantium ad Ripatium Presbyterum. [See the argument generally.]

[2] Theodoret in Epist. ad Colos. [cap. 2.] "Qui legem defendebant, eos etiam ad angelos colendos inducebant, dicentes legem fuisse per illos datam. Mansit autem diu hoc vitium in Phrygia et Pysidia: quocirca synodus quoque quæ convenit Laodiceæ, quæ est Phrygiæ metropolis, lege prohibuit ne precarentur angelos: et in hodiernum usque diem licet videre apud illos et eorum finitimos oratoria Sancti Michaelis. Illi ergo hoc consulebant, utique humilitate utentes, dicentes universorum Deum nec cerni, nec comprehendi, nec ad eum perveniri posse, et oportere per angelos divinam conciliare benevolentiam: hoc est quod dixit [sc. Apostolus Col. ii. 23,] in *humilitate et cultu angelorum.*"

to restrain more than that adoration which ascribeth infinite greatness to him that is adored; which undoubtedly they did, even the least and lowest degree of spiritual worship, or worship in spirit and truth. This most clearly appeareth to be so, by that of the seventh general council; which though it did not only confirm the placing of pictures in the church, but prescribed that they should be worshipped; yet the fathers of that council expounded themselves that they meant nothing else thereby, but a reverent usage of them, approaching to them, embracing and kissing of them, in such sort as men used to do to the books of holy Scriptures, and all sacred vessels and things consecrated to the use of God's service; but permit not any the least part of spiritual worship, or, worship in spirit and truth, which the Scripture speaketh of, to be given unto them; for if it be, they judge it idolatry[1]. But the Romanists, at this day, give spiritual worship to creatures; and think they sin not, if it be not in so high a degree as to ascribe unto them infinite greatness[2].

Adoration implieth in it three acts[3]: first, an apprehension of the excellency of that which is adored: secondly, an act

[1] Epiphanius contra Collyridianos, hæres. lxxix. [§ 7. *ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία, ὁδὲ Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνείσθω, τὴν Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνείτω. οὐ λέγω γυναικὶ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνδρί, Θεῷ προστέτακται τὸ μυστήριον.*] Omnem adorationem creaturarum damnat.

[2] Concilium Nicenum II. [*ἔτι γε μὴν ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τὰ ἅγια λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τὰς ἁγίας καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα καὶ περιπτυσσόμεθα, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχῆθεν παράδοσιν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.* Harduini, Concil. IV. 265.]

[3] "Dicunt Walsingham et Henricus:—revereri, est animo reputare magna bona quæ quis videt aut existimat esse in alio, parvi pendendo in eorum comparatione bona quæ considerat in seipso: honorare, est reverentiam existentem intus in anima, opere exterius indicare: hinc est, quod honor dicitur esse exhibitio reverentiæ in testimonium virtutis ejus quem reveretur: laudare est honoratum pro bonis quæ in ipso sunt aliis commendare: glorificare autem est laudes honorati largè latèque præconizare: propter quod dicitur esse gloria frequens fama cum laude: adorare autem est, in id, quod est reverendum, laudandum, honorandum, glorificandum propter eminentiam ei sanctitatis et virtutis, totam spem ac fiduciam subjiciendo se illi projicere, propter diligentem intentionem erga id quod adoratur:...illud enim coli dicitur, cui quis studiose intendit operam suam illi exhibendo." Waldensis, Tom. III. titulo 13, De Sanctis Adorandis, cap. 118.

of the will, desiring to do something to testify our acknowledgement of this greatness, and our subjection and inferiority: thirdly, an outward act expressing the same. We say, therefore, that adoration, proceeding out of the apprehension of the excellency of that is worshipped, and the desire to testify our acknowledgement of it, is of two sorts or kinds: for, either it is limited to certain times, places, and things, when, where, and wherein, the excellency of that we worship presents itself unto us and requireth our acknowledgement of it; as is the worship of kings, princes, prelates, and prophets, in their kingdoms, courts, churches, and schools, ruling, guiding, teaching, and instructing: or else, it is spiritual, which, in all places, at all times, and in all things, causeth him that worshippeth to bow himself before that he worshippeth, and thereby to testify his acknowledgement of the excellency of it which he findeth in every time, place, and thing, to present itself unto him. This kind of adoration subjecteth not only the body, but the spirit and mind also, to him whose greatness it thus acknowledgeth. This worship, we say, is proper to God: for he only, at all times and in all places and things, seeth, beholdeth, guideth, and taketh care of us; and ruling, disposing, and commanding us, inwardly and outwardly, worketh our good.

But the Romanists say, the saints do so likewise, though not in so excellent sort as God doth; for they suppose, that they know all things that concern us, that they watch over us with a careful and vigilant eye, that they carry us in their hands, and by their mediation procure our good from God, the fountain of all good; and therefore they worship them with spiritual worship. The miracles that God wrought in times past by them, made many to attribute more to them than was fit, as if they had a generality of presence, knowledge, and working: but the wisest and best advised never durst attribute any such thing unto them.

Whether, saith Augustin[1], the saints be present every-

[1] Aug. de cura pro mortuis. ["Ista quæstio vires intelligentiæ meæ vincit, quemadmodum opitulentur martyres iis quos per eos certum est adjuvari: utrum ipsi per seipsos adsint uno tempore tam diversis locis, sive ubi sunt eorum memoriæ, sive præter suas memorias ubicumque adesse sentiuntur; an ipsis in loco suis meritis congruo ab omni mortalium conversatione remotis, et tamen gene-

where, or at least wheresoever their memorials are kept; or whether they remain in one place only, and praying only in general for the militant Church, God do work, by himself, or by his angels, that which is fit for the confirmation of the faith they professed, and the good of such as remember them, I dare not pronounce. And who knoweth not, that he inclineth to that opinion, that they do not particularly see, know, and intermeddle with human things: and confirmeth this his judgment with sundry excellent reasons and authorities? This opinion did the author of the Gloss follow[1], and Hugo de Sancto Victore[2]; and the Church of God never defined otherwise: howsoever, Jerome in his passion against Vigilantius seems to say the contrary, and Gregory[3] endeavours to confirm it, saying, he that seeth God who seeth all things, cannot but see all things in him. But Occam[4], and sundry other excellent schoolmen, reject this saying of Gregory; and Gregorius Ariminensis[5] resolveth peremptorily,

raliter orantibus pro indigentiis supplicantium—Deus omnipotens qui est ubique præsens—exaudiens martyrum preces per angelica ministeria usquequaque diffusa præbeat hominibus ista solatia." § 20.]

[1] Interlinearis Glossa in Isaiæ lxiii.

[2] Hugo de Sancto Victore, Erudit. Theolog. de Sacramentis Fidei, lib. II. part XVI. cap. 11. "Quærunt nonnulli de animabus carne solutis, utrum cognitionem habeant eorum quæ in hac vita geruntur;—an preces supplicantium audiant.—Difficile est de hujusmodi dijudicare.—Quidam sanctorum patrum quædam ita dixerunt, quasi nihil sit in creaturis quod non videant, qui vident omnia videntem: [sed] ego non præsumo judicare," etc.

[3] Greg. Dialog. iv. cap. 33. [*ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐκεῖσε πάντες κοινῇ τῇ λαμπρότητι τὸν Θεὸν θεωροῦσιν τί ἐστιν ὅπερ οὐ γινώσκουσιν ἔνθα τὸν γινώσκοντα τὰ πάντα γινώσκουσιν.*]

[4] Occam, Tract. I. part. I. cap. 3. (ubi confutat Joannem XXII.) hæresim esse pronunciat dicere videntes Deum nulla ignorare, ["asserit (Johannes) manifeste: quod videntes Deum nulla ignorant; igitur omnia sciunt. Sed hæc hæresis S. D. aperte repugnat." f. clxviii.] Magister, lib. II. distinct. 11, "accipiendum" dicit dictum, Gregorii, "de his quorum cognitio beatum facit cognitorem, ut sunt ea quæ pertinent ad mysteria Trinitatis, etc. Sed hæc explicatio verbis Greg. non convenit, Moral. xii. cap. 14, "nullo modo credendum est quia foris sit aliquid quod ignorent."

[5] Greg. Arimi. (lib. II. dist. 9, 10, q. 1,) ex. 2. Paralip. ex dicto Salomonis, *Tu solus nosti corda filiorum hominum*, et ex libris de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, *secreta cordis ille solus novit*, probat nullam creaturam cognoscere cogitationes.

that neither saints nor angels know the secrets of our hearts, but that this is reserved as peculiar to God alone.

If then the saints, for aught we know, do not see, know, and intermeddle with our particular affairs, but pray only in general; there remaineth nothing else safely to be done by us, but to seek unto God: and then, all these, both saints and angels, shall love us in him; and, what lieth in them, procure our good.

"Behold," saith Augustine[1], "I worship one God, one beginning of all things, that fountain of wisdom and happiness whence all things that are wise and happy have their wisdom and happiness: whichsoever of the angels loveth this God, I am sure he loveth me: whosoever abideth in him, and can hear the prayers and take notice of the wants of mortal men, I am well assured he doth hear me when I pray to God, and endeavoureth to give me the best furtherance he can. Let therefore those *adoratores partium mundi*, worshippers of parts and portions of the world, tell me, what good saint or angel he doth not assure unto himself, which worshippeth that one God, whom every one that is good doth love and desire to please." Hence it came, that though some particular men did, anciently, at some times when they had occasion to speak of them, doubtfully solicit the saints, and desire them, if they had any apprehension of these inferior things, to be remembrancers for them unto God; yet no man prayed unto them with bowed knees, in set courses of devotion and prayer. Neither was there any form of invocation of saints brought into the service of the Church for a long time; as appeareth by that of Augustine[2], who saith, "they are named by the ministers in the time of the holy mysteries, but not invocated."

For, how could there be any invocation of them generally received and allowed, or constantly resolved on and used, in the set courses of the prayers of those primitive Christians,

[1] August. De Vera Religione, cap. 55. [§ 112.]

[2] De Civitate Dei, lib. XXII. c. 10. ["Ad quod sacrificium sicut homines Dei qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt suo loco et ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat invocantur. Deo quippe, non ipsis sacrificat, quamvis in memoria sacrificet eorum."]

when they knew not, nor were not certainly resolved, wheth[er] the saints do know or intermeddle with the particular affai[rs] of men in this world, seeing the Romanists themselves confess, it were not fit nor safe to pray to saints, if they did not hear us? Now it is no way likely that any general opinion was holden in those times, of the universal presence, knowledge, and ability of saints to stead them that seek unto them, seeing it was a long time doubtful in the Church, whether the faithful departing out of this world be immediately received into heaven and enjoy the happy presence of God; or, whether they remain or stay in Abraham's bosom, or some place of rest, till the day of the resurrection. Yet it is known to all them that have perused the monuments of antiquity, that Irenæus[1], Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and sundry others, were of opinion, that none of the just are in heaven till the end and consummation of all things, but that they are below in some part of hell, or in some hidden or invisible place sequestered from the presence of God, till the second coming of the Son of man. Now, seeing the invocation of saints presupposeth that they pray for us in particular; and, particular prayer for us, knowledge of our wants, which the presence and sight of God is supposed to afford them; if they do not yet enjoy the presence of God, as many of the ancients (though falsely) did think, we see not how, in their judgment, there should be any safe and fruitful invocating of them. For, the absence from God and the not enjoying his sight and presence, is the reason alleged by our adversaries, why the fathers, in the time before Christ, neither prayed in particular for the Church on earth, nor were prayed unto, as being in limbus, and not in heaven[2].

Howsoever, it is most certain, if we look into the ancient practice of the Church, that the saints, in their anniversary solemnities and holy days, were not prayed unto, but re-

[1] See Chap. IX.

[2] Bell. I. De Sanctorum Beatitudine, c. 20. ["Respondeo, Patribus in limbo non fuisse ordinarie revelatum quid hic agebatur, quia non erant beati: nam ad perfectam beatitudinem pertinet scire ea quæ ad se pertinent, et præcipue quæ faciunt ad honorem et gloriam. Præterea quia Sancti in limbo non ita gerebant curam rerum nostrarum nec erant præpositi Ecclesiæ, ut Sancti in cœlo sunt."]

membered only, proposed for imitation, and rather prayed for than prayed unto; as it appeareth by that Innocentius[1] reporteth, that in the feast of blessed Leo, the ancient custom was, to pray that the solemnity of that day, and the oblations then offered, might be available to his soul, for the increase and consummation of his glory: which, since, hath been altered; and the prayer is now, that by his mediation this festival solemnity may avail, and be to the good of them that observe and keep it. So that it cannot be shewed by our adversaries, that, before the ancient liturgies were abandoned[2], and those brought in by Gregory had gotten into their place, there was any invocation of the saints found in the public prayers of the Church; but when their names were remembered, men prayed only to God that he would give them grace to follow their examples, and make them partakers of that happiness which those blessed ones already enjoy. And at that time when this alteration began, the invocation was not brought into the liturgy and public prayers of the Church in direct form, but men prayed still unto God only, though desiring him the rather to respect them, for that not only their brethren on earth, but they also that are in heaven, cease not (prostrate before his Sacred Majesty) to pray for them. Neither is there any other form of prayer found in the Missal, but in the sequences[3] and litanies only.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter concerning the invocation and adoration of saints and angels, seeing the fathers did not in their set courses of devotion make prayers to the saints,

[1] Biel. Lect. 85, in Canonem Missæ. ["Sic intelligi potest illud quod de Sancto Leone Papa, secundum antiqua exemplaria orat Ecclesia. "Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio," etc. "Sed constat S. Leonem in gloria esse. Prosit secundum Innocentium: ut a fidelibus magis ac magis glorificetur in terris. Possit ergo ad gloriæ accidentalis augmentum non essentialis."]

[2] See how the ancient missals were abandoned, in Præfat. Cassandri in librum Romani ordinis a se editi et in vita Greg. I., apud Voraginensem.

[3] "Abbas Nocherius de Sancto Gallo sequentias pro pneumis composuisse dicitur, quas Nicholaus Papa ad missam cantari concessit." Hugo de Sancto Victore, Erudit. Theol. de Officiis Eccles. lib. II. cap. 11. —Durand. Ration. Divin. Offic. lib. IV. [c. 22], ait Nocherium, sequentias pro pneumis ipsius alleluia composuisse, sed alios post plerasque addidisse.

but when they had particular occasion to speak or think of them, used doubtful compellations; desiring them, if they had sense of these things, to be remembrancers for them unto God: seeing, for aught we know, the saints are not particularly acquainted with the state of things here below: seeing no degree of spiritual worship is to be given to any creature; we invocate them not, but pray unto God only; assuring ourselves that if they can hear us, or any way further our suits, they will do it, when we pray unto God; as Augustine rightly observeth.

We adore them not, but rest in the judgment of the same Augustine[1], that the saints are to be honoured for imitation, but not to be adored for religion; that they do not seek, desire, or accept any such honour, but will have us to worship God only, being glad that we are their fellow-servants in well-doing. The Romanist evasion, that God is only to be adored with that highest kind of religious worship which is named *latria*, which yieldeth to him that is worshipped infinite greatness; but the saints may be adored with an inferior kind of religious worship, named *doulia*, is directly contrary to Augustine, who, speaking of saints and angels, saith: "Honoramus eos charitate, non servitute[2]." "We honour them with the honour of love, but not of *doulia*, or service." If they say, they have this distinction from Austin, it is true: but he doth not use it to this purpose, to make difference of two sorts of religious or spiritual worship, the highest degree whereof should be *latria*, the lowest *doulia*: neither doth he anywhere call the honour given to saints *doulia*, but nameth it the honour of love and fellowship: but he useth to distinguish religious worship (every degree whereof he calleth *latria*) from the external and civil worship, duty, and service, that men yield to their princes, masters, and rulers, which is fitly named *doulia*, a service; but it is *servitus corporis, non animæ*, a service of the body, and not of the mind. For men, notwithstanding this servitude, have their minds and their thoughts free, as being known to none, nor overruled

[1] Aug. de Vera Religione, 55. ["Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur ut tales quærant honores; sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes." § 108.]

[2] De Vera Religione, c. 55. [§ 111.]

by none but God only. But the service of the spirit and mind, in the lowest degree that can be imagined, is due unto God only, and not to be given to any creature: for no creature knoweth the secrets of our hearts; no creature can prescribe laws touching the inward actions and thoughts of the mind, not having knowledge of them, nor power to punish them that should offend.

It is therefore an impious conceit of the papists, that the saints both can and do know all our inward actions and secret thoughts, approving or reproving, excusing or accusing them; and that, as presidents of our whole life and conversation; and that, therefore, they are to be honoured and worshipped with spiritual service, or service of the spirit and mind. Thus then it is true the Century writers report, that in the third and fourth age after Christ, there were some beginnings of that superstition, which afterwards grew to be intolerable in the adoration and invocation of saints and angels; but neither they nor we are so ignorant as to think, that the invocation of saints, or the adoration of them, prevailed in the Church within the compass of the first six hundred years; neither do they, as Bellarmine is pleased to slander them, tax that as idolatry in the Roman Church, which they find to have been the practice of all the fathers; for they find nothing of the Romish idolatry in these glorious lights of the Christian world.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF MARTYRDOM, AND THE EXCESSIVE PRAISES THEREOF FOUND IN THE FATHERS.

THE next allegation against them is touching martyrdom, which, Bellarmine saith, they suppose the fathers did too immoderately and excessively magnify and extol. The reason of this their censure, he thinketh, is, because they will not admit it to be a kind of baptism, and to wash away sin, as both the Romanists and the fathers teach[1]. For the

[1] [De Notis Ecclesiæ, IV. 9. "Nolunt enim Lutherani esse martyrium genus quoddam baptismi, aut ullo modo expiari peccata per martyrium." See the Centuriators, III. 4, col. 83.]

better clearing of this point, and the answering of this objection, we must remember, that whereas the ordinary and set means of salvation is baptism, so that no man carelessly neglecting, or wilfully contemning it, can be saved; the fathers, notwithstanding, do constantly teach, that if men be excluded by inevitable impossibility, they may be saved without it; and that faith, and the inward conversion of the heart flying unto God in Christ, through the gracious instinct and sweet motion of the sanctifying Spirit, may be reckoned a kind of baptism: because thereby they obtain all that which should have been sought in the baptism of water. And because if an ordinary degree of faith do sometimes obtain salvation, without the baptism of water, much more that which maketh men willing to suffer death for Christ: therefore they affirm, that martyrdom, and the constant suffering for Christ, is also fitly named baptism.

So that there are three kinds of baptism: Flaminis, Fluminis, Sanguinis; of water, of the Spirit, and blood.

It appeareth by Bernard's epistle to Hugo de Sancto Victore[1], of this argument, that there were some in his time who, though they thought that martyrdom doth supply the defect of baptism, yet would not grant, that faith, and the inward conversion of the heart, without such suffering, doth so; and therefore, though they confessed that martyrs, not baptized with the baptism of water, may be saved, yet they denied that others, though repenting, believing, and converting unto God, can possibly obtain remission of their sins without the sacramental washing. Against these Bernard reasoneth in this sort: "If martyrdom do supply the defect of baptism, it is not *pœna*, but *fides;* not the suffering, but the faith of the sufferer, that makes it be of so great force. Nam absque fide, quid est martyrium, nisi pœna? For were it not for faith, what were the passions of martyrs, but bitter and uncomfortable torments only? Shall then that which maketh martyrdom be esteemed instead of baptism, be so infirm and weak, that what it gives to another thing it shall be denied to have itself? The shedding of our blood for Christ is an undoubted proof and demonstration of a very great, constant, and unmoveable faith: but it is not God, but men that take notice of faith by these proofs: for, God

[1] Epist. LXXVII. [II. § 8.]

doth often see and pronounce the faith of a man dying in peace, to be as great as the faith of a martyr; for that though it be not proved by martyrdom, it is ready for martyrdom, and animates him that hath it to suffer anything, if need should require[1]."

This which Bernard hath thus delivered touching this point, is the constant doctrine of the fathers; neither do we nor the authors of the Centuries dislike anything in it: but we condemn the vain and idle disputes of the Romish schools, touching these three kinds of baptism; especially in that they teach concerning martyrdom[2], that it giveth grace *ex opere operato;* so that if a man not justified, nor yet in the state of grace, come unto it, and do not *ponere obicem*, he shall, by virtue thereof, obtain grace, and have the effects of it wrought in him, in such sort as in the baptism of water. This not only we condemn, but many amongst themselves, affirming that martyrdom hath no force to work or procure our good, farther than the greatness of our faith and love which is therein tried, approved, and made manifest, doth work it.

The Century writers reprove not the fathers for any such error, as the papists do maintain, touching the force of

[1] ["Etsi martyrium vicem baptismi posse implere conceditur, non plane hoc facit pœna, sed ipsa fides. Nam absque ipsa quid est martyrium, nisi pœna? Quæ ergo martyrio præstat, ut absque ulla dubitate pro baptismate reputetur; ipse ita infirma et imbecillis per se erit, ut quod dare alteri valet, sola non valeat obtinere? Et prorsus sanguinis pro Christo effusio magnæ cujusdam fidei indubitata probatio est, non Deo tamen sed hominibus. Sed quid si Deus, qui profecto ad probandum quod vult, nullis indiget experimentis, æque magnam in corde cujuspiam in pace morientis inspicit fidem, martyrio quidem non interrogatam, martyrio tamen idoneam?" See also the passages quoted by Bellarmine, De sac. Baptismi. c. vi.]

[2] "Non desunt Theol. ut Dominicus à Soto, et Martinus Ledesmius (in 4 d. 3 q. unic. ar. ii.) qui docent, martyrium non dare gratiam ex opere operato, sed tantum ex opere operantis nec dare ullum gradum gratiæ, præter eum qui respondet merito charitatis ipsius martyris.—Probabilior sententia est, martyrium ex opere operato conferre primam gratiam, ita ut si quis ad martyrium accedat adhuc in peccatis existens, tamen sine affectu ad aliquod peccatum, et cum fide et dilectione inchoata, et pœnitentia saltem imperfecta qualis requiritur etiam ante baptismum aquæ, is virtute martyrii ex opere operato justificabitur." Bellarm. I. De sac. Bapt. c. 6.

martyrdom; but, they dislike that the fathers did use so many hyperboles and rhetorical amplifications in the praising of martyrdom (though in a good sense), that the Romish sophisters have from thence taken occasion of their error, touching the merit, satisfaction, and expiation of sins, which they fancy to be in the blood of martyrs; of which impiety the fathers never thought. Thus, then, it doth not appear, by anything which Bellarmine hath or can allege, that we confess the faith of the Romanists to be the ancient profession of the primitive Christians; but, rather, the contrary is constantly defended by all our divines in the places produced by him.

CHAPTER XXII.

WHEREIN IS EXAMINED THEIR PROOF OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THEIR DOCTRINE, TAKEN FROM A FALSE SUPPOSAL THAT OUR DOCTRINE IS NOTHING ELSE BUT HERESY LONG SINCE CONDEMNED.

LET us therefore come to his third part[1], wherein he undertaketh to prove that the doctrine of the reformed Churches, opposite to the faith and profession of Rome, is the same with the old heresy long since condemned by the universal consent of the whole Christian world. In this part he is so shameless, that I blush at the very thought of that he so doctorally and gravely delivereth, as if it were truer than truth itself; whereas in his conscience he knoweth it to be an untruth so gross and apparent, that the devil himself will be ashamed of it. He reckoneth twenty several heresies of damned arch-heretics, every of which he pronounceth that we silly men defend and embrace as the sacred truth of God.

Let us, for our better satisfaction, and refutation of so vile a slander, take a view of the particulars. He placeth in the front the heresy of Simon Magus and his disciples[2],

[1] Ibid.

[2] Irenæus, lib. I. contra hæreses, cap. 20=23. ["Cum male moderarentur angeli mundum, quoniam unusquisque eorum concupisceret principatum, ad emendationem venisse rerum, et descendisse eum [sc.

which was, that the angels made the world; that the prophets were inspired from them, and delivered their pleasure, not the will and pleasure of the high God; and that therefore the things commanded by them were not in themselves good or to be respected: that God was displeased with their government, and would exempt his own from it, and have them free to do what they list; for that men are saved by his favour, and not in doing those things, which, though they were commanded and imposed as good by Moses and the prophets, misled by the angels, yet were not naturally so, but by accident only.

This, he saith, is the error of the Protestants: for they think God made the world, and not the angels: that Moses and the prophets spake as they were inspired of him; that the things they commanded are just and holy: that there is no way of salvation, but by having that righteousness the law of Moses prescribeth, which all they that are saved have; first, by imputation of that perfect righteousness and obedience to Moses' law, which was found in Christ, to merit our good; and, secondly, by the operation and infusion of sanctifying grace from him, making them to hate sin, to love righteousness, and walk in the ways of God's commandments, so that sin hath no more dominion over them. Surely, I think, if the devil himself sat as judge in this case, he could not but condemn the impudence of this his shameless disciple.

But he addeth[1]: Eunomius taught, that if a man would embrace his profession, he should be saved, though he con-

Simonem] transfiguratum et assimilatum virtutibus et potestatibus et angelis; ut et in hominibus homo appareret ipse, cum non esset homo, et passum autem in Judæa putatum cum non esset passus. Prophetas autem a mundi fabricatoribus angelis inspiratos dixisse prophetias; quapropter nec ulterius curarent eos hi qui in eum et in Helenam ejus spem habeant; et ut liberos agere quæ velint; secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas justas. Nec enim esse naturaliter operationes justas, sed ex accidenti; quemadmodum posuerunt qui mundum fecerunt angeli, per hujusmodi præcepta in servitutem deducentes homines."]

[1] Ibid. ["Eunomiani similiter docebant, non posse homini ulla peccata nocere, modo fidem habeat; ut Augustinus testatur (De Hær. c. 54); qui etiam libro (De Fide et Operibus, c. 14), dicit, hanc hæresim de sola fide sufficiente ad salutem sine operibus ortam esse tempore apostolorum, ex non intellecto Paulo; etc. 'Hæc eadem est sententia omnium sectariorum hujus temporis.'"]

tinued, without repentance and remorse, in all manner of most damnable wickedness: and that others, whom Augustine refuteth in his book, *De Fide et Operibus*, were of opinion, that all Christians, how damnably soever they live, holding the truth of Christian profession, may and shall be saved. This, he saith, is the doctrine of the Protestants. If any of us ever wrote, spake, or thought any such thing, let God forget ever to do good unto us, and let our prayers be rejected from his presence: but if this be as vile a slander as ever satanist devised, the Lord reward them that have been the authors and devisers of it, according to their works. But let us see, doth he make no show of proof? Doubtless he doth.

Luther[1], saith he, pronounceth, that there is no way to have access unto God, to treat with him touching reconciliation and acceptation into his favour, but by faith; that God regardeth not works: that a true Christian is so rich in faith, that he cannot perish though he would, nor how wickedly soever he live, unless he refuse and cease to believe.

For the clearing of these places of Luther, we must remember that which Illyricus hath fitly noted to this purpose[2],

[1] De Captivitate Babylonica, cap. de Eucharistia. ["Non alia via potest homo cum Deo convenire aut agere quam per fidem; opera ille nihil curat." Ibid. "Tam dives est Christianus ut non possit perire, etiamsi obit, quantumcumque male vivat, nisi nolit credere."]

[2] In Clave Scripturæ, de varia operum prædicatione, Tract. VI. titulo duplex justitia et justificatio. ["Verum autem est quod scriptura quasi duo quædam fora judicii divini et approbationis hominum constituat; quorum prius possis, docendi gratia, vocare forum justificationis, posterius autem novæ obedientiæ. In priore agitur de vera justificatione. Ibi enim justissimus Deus, exactissimam obedientiam erga suam legem, severissime exigit; et insuper etiam perfectam naturæ integritatem. Huic tamen severæ justitiæ Dei nemo prorsus etiam sanctissimus suam justitiam opponere potest. Illi etiam severo judicio ac justitiæ Dei, quæ vere est ignis omnia consumens sola perfectissima ac mundissima justitia, obedientiæ ac passionis Filii Dei opponenda est. Ille solus est umbraculum, contra tantum æstum. Hoc igitur umbraculo quicumque se contegit, seu quicumque fide hoc propitiatorium sacrificium arripit, ita ut ei satisfactio aut justitia ejus imputetur, eaque quasi induatur, is demum habens tanto justitiæ Christi tegmine contectam suam injustitiam, ita ut quasi cerni a Deo imputarique nequeat, vere in severo judicio Dei consistere potest. Atque hæc proprie vera justificatio peccatoris. Ex hac justitia et justificatione recte Paulus excludit omni

that there are two courts of God's judgments and most righteous proceeding towards the sons of men: the one, he calleth *forum justificationis;* the other, *novæ obedientiæ.* In the first, he saith, God requireth perfect righteousness, fully answering that his law prescribeth; which being nowhere to be found but in Christ, is no way apprehended but by faith. In this respect, and sitting in this court of exact trial, he regardeth no works, virtues, or qualities; finding nothing of worth or worthy to be respected, but looking to our faith only; and, for Christ's sake only, at the sole and only suit of faith, forgiving sin and imputing righteousness. Notwithstanding, because he never saith to any sinner, "Thy sins are remitted," but that he addeth, "Go, and sin no more," and that upon peril of forfeiting the benefit received, and that some worse thing should betide unto him; therefore there is another court, wherein he sitteth and giveth commandment for new obedience and works of righteousness, though not requiring so strictly that perfection which formerly he did, but accepting our weak endeavours and study of well doing: and, in this sort it is that he will judge us, in the last day, according to our works.

Thus then we see, how that, though faith be never alone, yet in procuring us acceptation with God, it is alone: and that, though God regard none of our virtues, actions, and qualities, as being of any worth in the strictness of his judgement, but reject them as unpure and unclean, and respect nothing but the humble suit and petition of faith, for the purpose of justification; yet, when we are justified, he requireth of us a new obedience, judgeth us according to it, and crowneth us for it. That which Luther addeth, that a man cannot perish though he would, and how wickedly soever he live, unless he cease to believe, may seem hard at the first sight; but not to them that do know, that Luther is far from thinking that men may be saved, how wickedly soever they live, for he constantly teacheth that justifying

tempore, omnia opera, virtutes ac qualitates hominis, sive acquisitas sive donatas.—In altera sane justificatione aut Dei approbatione ita diligimur nos et nostra opera in delecto Filio ut etiam operum nostrum crebro ratio habeatur.—Ac cum benignissimus Pater cum filiolis suis indulgentissime agit—non requiritur perfecta legis impletio sicut in altera sed acquiescat Deus in sedulo filiorum conatu."]

faith cannot remain in that man that sinneth with full consent, nor be found in that soul wherein are *peccata vastantia conscientiam* (as Melancthon speaketh, following Augustine), that is, raging, ruling, prevailing, laying waste and destroying the integrity of the conscience, which should resist against evil and condemn it.

This is all, then, that Luther saith; that no wickedness with which faith may stand, can hurt us, so long as faith continueth; but if sin once become regnant, and so exclude faith, we are in the state of damnation. Against this doctrine of Luther, or any part thereof, neither Bellarmine nor the gates of hell shall ever be able to prevail. We see, then, how justly we are charged with the heresies of the Simonians, Eunomians, and the like monsters: surely, as justly as Bellarmine may be charged with true and honest dealing in this imputation and others that follow.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE HERESY OF FLORINUS, MAKING GOD THE AUTHOR OF SIN, FALSELY IMPUTED TO CALVIN AND OTHERS.

THE next heresy which they say we are fallen into[1], is the heresy of Florinus, who taught that God is the cause and author of sin. This, he saith, Calvin, Luther, Martyr, and sundry other of the greatest divines of the Reformed Churches, have defended in their writings. Of this sinful, wicked, and lying report, we are sure God is not the author, but the devil; and therefore we do not fully accord with Florinus. But that it may appear how truly these men write and speak of things of so great moment, I will only positively lay

[1] Ibid. ["Florini hæresis fuit, Deum esse causam peccatorum, quam Irenæus apud Eusebium (v. 20) dicebat esse plus quam hæresim; quam etiam tribuit Vincentius Lyrinensis in suo Commonitorio Simoni Mago. Eadem sine ullo pudore docet Calvinus. (Instit. I. 18, § 2.) "Non solum permissu," inquit, "sed etiam voluntate Dei homines peccant, ita ut nihil ipsi deliberando agitent, nisi quod Deus apud se decreverit et arcana directione constituerit."]

down what we think of this matter; and the adversary's slanders will be sufficiently refuted. For the clearing of our opinion touching this point, I will first set down the different kinds of sin: secondly, what God may be said to will, or decree, touching the first entrance thereof: and thirdly, what when it is entered.

Sin, as we know, is nothing else but *ἀνομία*, a transgression of the law. The law is partly affirmative, requiring; partly negative, forbidding, the doing of a thing. Hence it followeth that all sin is either of omission or commission. Sin of omission is the not doing of that the creature is bound to do: sin of commission is the doing of that the creature is bound not to do.

The not doing of that the creature is bound to do, God may be said to will and decree four ways. First, by effectual opposing against the doing of it: and in this sort it is impious to think that God decreed the omission or not doing of that the creature stands bound to do: secondly, by discouraging and dissuading from the doing of it, which is no less absurd and impious than the former: thirdly, by denial of that grace, concurrence, or assistance, without which it cannot be done; this cannot be imagined in respect of the state of man's first creation, but we must make God the author of sin; and, therefore, there is none of us that doth attribute any such thing unto God. But contrariwise, Calvin[1], whom Bellarmine seemeth most to challenge, noteth fitly to this purpose out of Augustine, "that God gave Adam *posse si vellet, sed non velle quod potuit:* power to stand and continue in his uprightness if he would, though he did not inseparably hold him to it, but left him to his own choice;" whence followed that evil we now complain of: fourthly, by denial of that grace, assistance, and concurrence, without which he seeth the creature will not be moved nor won to do it, though it have other more than sufficient graces, motives, and encouragements, to induce it thereunto. In this fourth sense, many fear not to say, that God, negatively or privatively decreed the sin of omission, or the not doing of that the creature was bound to do, in that he decreed the denial of

[1] Instit. lib. I. 15, § 8; lib. II. 3, § 13; citat. August. de Correptione et Gratia. [sc. cap. II. "Acceperat posse si vellet, sed non habuit velle quod posset."]

that, without which he knew it would not be done. But some there be that fear thus to speak, choosing rather to say, that God only permitted than in any sense that he decreed the sin of omission, in the first entrance of it. Yet these, if they rightly understand that permission which they speak of, agree with the others in sense and meaning. For God may be said to permit the not doing of a thing three ways: first, when he requireth not the doing of it, neither will dislike the omission of it; and, in this sense, it is impious to say that God permitteth the sin of omission; for he requireth the doing, and will punish the not doing of that, the omission whereof is sin: secondly, God may be said to permit a man's not doing of a thing, in that he leaveth him to himself, to do or not to do the same, without any particular providence or care in ordering or disposing the motions and resolutions of his will; which to think, is no less impious than the former: thirdly, he may be said to permit the not doing of a thing, when he doth not work upon a man in such sort, as only he knoweth he will be wrought to the doing of the same. "Deum permittere," saith Cumel[1], "nihil aliud videtur esse, quam subtrahere illam majorem gratiam, quam si tribueret, Petrus non peccaret: et hoc quoad primum peccatum; ut servet suavem modum procedendi in omnibus; vel ut servet multipliciter dispositionem concurrendi cum libero arbitrio; vel ut ostendat se dare gratis illam gratiam cuicunque dat:" "When God is said to permit sin," saith Cumel, "no other thing seemeth to be meant, but that he denieth that more potent and prevailing grace, which if he should give, he that now sinneth would not sin; and this he doth in respect of the first sin, that he may hold a sweet course in guiding all things, so as to suffer them to work according to the condition of their nature, that in diverse and different sorts, he may dispose of his concurrence with the liberty of man's will; and that he may make it appear, that to whomsoever he giveth that more potent and prevailing grace, he giveth it freely." In this sense, God may truly be said to permit the sin of omission. And because he knoweth infallibly such omission will be, whensoever he doth not so work upon a man as he knoweth he must be wrought upon if ever he be brought to the doing of that good which is required of him,

[1] Cumel. Dis. varia in primam, et primam secundæ, p. 162.

he may be said privatively to decree it; seeing he may rightly be said in a sort to decree the not doing of a thing, when he decreeth the denial of that, without which he knoweth it will not be done. "Præfinitio duplex est," saith Rispolis[1], "altera positiva, negativa altera. Positiva est illa quâ Deus apud se quasi deliberat, velle in tempore determinare physice per aliquod auxilium voluntatem hominis alicujus. Negativa qua Deus apud se deliberat non velle conferre alicui suum auxilium efficax. Et quia voluntas creata infallibiliter deficiet circa quamcunque materiam virtutis, nisi efficaciter moveatur a divina voluntate ad bene operandum; in materia, verbi gratiâ, temperantiæ; cognoscit evidenter voluntatem creatam peccaturam. Ideo bona cognoscuntur præfinitione positiva, mala vero præfinitione negativa, quam appellabo potius permissionem." Et post: "Nos, quando dicimus Deum præfiniisse peccata, hoc non intelligimus quantum ad decretum impositionis malitiæ sed quantum ad subtractionem gratiæ." "There is a two-fold decree of God, the one positive, the other negative: the positive is that whereby God determineth with himself, in such time as he thinketh good, to incline the will of a man to the doing of a thing, by his effectual working and powerful help; the negative is, when he determineth not so to work a man to the doing of a thing; and because man will not do the same, unless he be so effectually wrought unto it, he seeth it will not be done, and that man will sin in omitting it. So that God knoweth future good things, because he hath positively decreed them; and future evil things, because he hath privatively decreed them; the which we rather call permission." And again: "When we say God hath decreed sin, we speak not of any positive decree of making a man evil, but of a privative decree of not working him to do good." So that if there be any difference amongst divines touching this point, it is only in form of words.

The sin of commission, which is the doing of that the creature is bound not to do, is merely positive. For as the affirmative part of God's law is broken, by the not putting that in being which it requireth, or not so as it requireth; so the negative is violated precisely, by putting that in being which it would not have to be, or by putting it in being in

[1] [Status Controversiæ Prædefinitionum, etc. cum Libero Arbitrio, p. 63. Paris, 1609.] Lib. I. q. i. concl. i.

such sort as it would not have it to be; and yet every sin is an evil, and the nature of evil is privative. For the clearing therefore hereof, the divines do note, that we speak of evil *formally* and *denominatively*[1]. *Formally*, evil is nothing but the not being of some good in that wherein it should be. *Denominatively* a thing may be said to be evil, either by active denomination, because it depriveth something of that good it should have, in which sort poison is said to be evil: or, by passive denomination; as those things are said to be evil, that want and are deprived of that good they should have. The sin of omission is formally evil, because it is *negatio boni debiti inesse*, the not doing of that good act which should be done; and from it the sinner is denominated evil by passive denomination, as wanting that good which he should have. Sin of commission is an evil act. Evil acts are of two sorts: for, either they are evil only *ex fine et circumstantiis*, in that they are not done to a right end and rightly; or, *ex genere et objecto:* the former are denominated evil by passive denomination, as wanting some circumstances that should make them good; the latter are such as no circumstances can make good, neither are they denominated evil from the want of circumstances which they should or might have, but the active denomination, because by way of contrariety, they deprive the sinner of that orderly disposition that should be found in him, and some other of that good which pertaineth to him. As it appeareth in the acts of

[1] Ariminens. lib. II. d. 34, 35, 36, 37. q. 1. art. 1. ["Malum potest dupliciter capi. Uno modo pro eo quidem quod denominatur malum; sicut dicimus hominem malum, et angelum malum, et aurum malum, et sic de aliis. Alio modo pro eo, unde primo aliquid denominatur, seu est malum. Primo modo cum loquimur de malo, hoc nomen *malum* sumitur *adjective;* cum autem loquimur secundo modo, sumitur *substantive*, et est synonymum huic nomini *malitia;* quod evidentius retinet formam nominum abstractorum.—

"Res quæ absolute dicitur mala, ideo præcise dicitur mala quia caret bono sibi debito; non igitur absoluta negatio boni est malum, seu malitia, sed negatio boni in re cui illud bonum debetur.—

2. "Suppono unum quod est evidens; sc. quod omne quod denominatur malum, vel denominatur malum ad se seu absolute, (quemadmodum dicitur aurum malum vel vinum malum, et sic de aliis), aut denominatur malum in ordine ad aliud, ex quod alicui dicitur malum. Sicut venenum dicitur esse homini."]

injustice, spoiling men of that which is their own: or, in the acts of blasphemy against God; or the hate of God: in which the sinner, as much as in him lieth, by attributing unto God that which is contrary to his nature, or denying that which agreeth unto the same, maketh him not to be that which he is; and, hating him, wisheth he were not, and endeavoureth to hinder what he would have done. From this kind of sin, the sinner is denominated evil, partly by denomination passive, in that he wanteth that orderly disposition that should be in himself; and partly by active, in that he depriveth as much as in him is, some other of that good which pertains to him. Some not rightly observing these things, and finding that some sins are positive acts, whereas the nature of evil is privative, distinguish that which is material in the sins of commission, and that which is formal: the substance of the act and the deformity of it maketh the one positive and the other privative, consisting in the want of that rectitude which should be in it. But these men seem not rightly to conceive the things whereof they speak. For the sin of omission is formally evil, and a want of rectitude in that the good act that should be done is omitted: but the sin of commission, if it be an evil act, *ex genere et objecto*, is denominatively evil, not by passive denomination, as wanting that rectitude that should be in it, but by active; in that, by way of contrariety, it depriveth the sinner of that orderly disposition that should be found in him, and others of that good that pertaineth to them. That that sin of commission, that is an evil act *ex genere et objecto*, is not denominated evil, positively, from the want of rectitude due unto it, it is evident, in that no rectitude is due to such an act. For what rectitude is due to the specifical act of hating God, or what rectitude is it capable of? Gregory de Valentia finding this to be true, and yet willing to defend the distinction of that which is formal and that which is material, of something positive and something privative in the sin of commission, saith, "that evil acts, as particularly the act of injustice, may be considered two ways. First, in the proper and specifical nature of injustice, and so it is no subject capable of the perfection of virtue: "neque hujus perfectionis negatio est in illo privatio, sed pura negatio:" neither is the denial

of this perfection in respect of such an act so considered a privation, but a mere and pure negation. Secondly, "secundum communem quandam rationem illi et actui justitiæ; nempe ut versantur circa materiam communem ipsi et justitiæ, scilicet rem alienam. Et sic subjectum est aptum ad perfectionem justitiæ, et hujus perfectionis negatio est in illo privatio." "In a generality, in respect of that which is common to it and the contrary act of justice, as they are both conversant in things pertaining to other men; and in this sort it is a subject capable of rectitude and the perfection of virtue[1]." His meaning is, that a moral act, conversant in things pertaining to other men, considered in a generality, is indifferent either to be an act of justice, giving to every one his own; or of injustice, depriving others of that which pertaineth to them; and that the omission of the act of justice is a privation of such rectitude as might be found in this kind. So that whensoever any act of injustice is done, first there is a want of rectitude, that is, an omission of the good act of justice which might and ought to have been done; and secondly, the producing of an evil act, contrary to that good act that is omitted: and two kinds of sin do always concur, the one of omission, the other of commission: the one is a mere privation of rectitude, and the deformity of it is privative; in the other, which is a sin of commission specifically considered, there is no privative want of rectitude, for it is capable of none, and in it there is nothing but merely positive, and the deformity that is found in it is precisely a positive repugnance to the law of God. Aluarez saith[2], the sin of commission is a breach of a negative law, which is not broken but by a positive act contrary to the prescript of right reason; as Thomas Aquinas teacheth, 2a. 2æ. quest. lxxix. art. 2, 3, 4. And the same is further confirmed, because the same Thomas elsewhere saith[3], that in the sin of omission there is nothing but privation, if we consider it as it is in itself; but the sin of commission is some positive

[1] [Tom. II. d. II. q. 13. punct. iii. p. 252.]

[2] De Auxiliis Divinæ Gratiæ. VI. disp. 44, [p. 393. "Peccatum commissionis est contra præceptum negativum, quod non frangitur, nisi per actum positivum contrarium rationi." Ed. 1622.]

[3] Quest. ii. De Malo, art. 1, ad 4.

thing. Because, saith Cajetan[1], sin consisteth as well of a conversion to an object contrary to the object of virtue, as of an aversion from the law; there is in sin a double nature of evil, the one arising from the object, the other from the not observing of the law: the first is positive, the second privative; the first inferreth the second. For it cannot be that a man should hate God, but that in so doing he must break the law: for there are some acts simply and intrinsically evil, so that to do them is to sin; of which sort is the act of hating God. Besides, one contrary depriveth the subject wherein it is found and maketh it incapable of the other, so long as it is in it; as the hate of God maketh a man incapable of the love of God, and of the hate of such things as are contrary to God, and should be hated. So that there is a double nature of evil, the one positive, the other privative; and the one of these is the cause of the other. Gregory de Valentia saith[2], it is consequent upon the opinion of Cajetan[3], that sin formally, as sin, is a positive thing; which thing he also expressly affirmeth in 1am. 2æ. quest. 71, art. 6. There are that hold, saith Cumel[4], that the formal nature of sin (he meaneth the sin of commission) consisteth in some positive

[1] In primam secundæ, q. 79, art. 1 et 2. ["Peccatum constat ex conversione ad objectum contrarium objecto virtutis, et ex aversione a lege: sunt in peccato duæ malitiæ; primo, malitia ex objecto; secundo, malitia in ipsa privatione observationis legis. Prima est positiva, et in certo entis genere:—secunda est privativa.—Ad primam necessario sequitur secunda; ad odium namque et negationem Dei absolute sumpta—consequitur necessario privatio observationis legis.—Et hoc est quod communiter dicitur, quod sunt quidam actus specifici in moralibus qui sunt secundum se mali, et non possunt bene ulla ratione fieri.—

"Unum contrarium directo privat reliqua ex ea parte qua est illi contrarium. Vitium autem virtuti contrariatur ex parte conversionis, quia ad contraria objecta convertantur: et sic vitii species in actu posita privat per se loquendo conversione ad objectum virtutis: quod est privare rectitudine conversionis inventa in virtutis actu in ordine ad proprium objectum. Talem autem privationem sic causari a Deo nullum inconveniens est."]

[2] Tom. II. d. II. q. 13, punc. 3. art. 5.

[3] ["Ex illa opinione Cajetani consequens est alia ejusdem Cajetani opinio, minus tolerabilis in Theologia; nempe quod peccatum formaliter ut peccatum est, sit aliquid positivum."]

[4] Disp. variæ ad primam et primam secundæ, p. 104.

thing, to wit, in the manner of working freely, with positive repugnance to the rule of reason and the law of God. "Difformitas in actu commissionis," saith Ockam[1], "non est nisi ipsemet actus elicitus contra præceptum divinum, et nihil penitus aliud dicit. Quando elicit quis actum quem non debet, si non teneatur ad oppositum actum, difformitas non est carentia alicujus rectitudinis debitæ inesse, nec illi actui nec voluntati: sed si teneatur, tunc est duplex peccatum, commissionis et omissionis; et hoc est carentia alterius actus debiti inesse, et ita rectitudinis debitæ inesse voluntati." That is, "the deformity in an act of commission, is nothing but the very act which is done contrary to the law of God, neither doth it imply anything else. So that when a man produceth an action which he should not do, if he be not bound to do the contrary, the deformity that accompanieth such an action is not the want of any rectitude that should be either in that action or in the will: but if he be bound to do the contrary, then there are two sins found in him, the one of commission, the other of omission; and this latter is the want of another act that should be done, and consequently of a rectitude that should be in the will, but is not, when it faileth to bring forth that action that in duty it is bound to do." But some man will say, this must not be granted; for if we admit not the distinction of that which is formal and that which is material, in the sin of commission; the deformity and the substance of the act; and that the one is positive and the other privative; God having a true efficiency in respect of the substance of the act, and that which is positive in it, we must acknowledge that he hath a true efficiency in respect to the whole, even the deformity as well as the substance; and, consequently, make him the author of sin. They who make this objection, seem to say something, but indeed they say nothing: for this distinction will not clear the doubt they move, touching God's efficiency and working in the sinful actions of men. "Whensoever," saith Durandus[2],

[1] Lib. III. Sent. q. 12.

[2] Lib. II. dist. 37, q. 1. ["Quando duo sunt conjuncta inseparabiliter quicumque sciens utrumque eligit unum elegit et alterum; quia etsi illud non eligeret absolute quia malum, ex quo tamen conjunctum est ei quod vult nec separari potest ab eo necesse est, quod utrumque velit, sicut patet in voluntariis mixtis, cum aliquis projicit merces in mare ut salvetur, quos tamen secundum se non vellet projicere."]

two things are inseparably joined together, whosoever, knowing them both, and that they are so inseparably joined together, chooseth the one, chooseth the other also; because, though happily he would not choose it absolutely as being evil, yet, in that it is joined to that which he doth will, neither can be separated from it, it is of necessity, that he must will both. As it appeareth in those voluntary actions that are mixed: as when a man casteth into the sea those rich commodities which he hath dearly bought, and brought from afar, to save his own life: which he would not do but in such a case." Hence it followeth, that the act of hating God, and sinful deformity, being so inseparably joined together that the one cannot be divided from the other (for a man cannot hate God, but he must sin damnably), if God doth will the one he doth will the other also. This of Durand is confirmed by Suarez[1], who saith, he shall never satisfy any man that doubteth how God may be cleared from being the author of sin if he have an efficiency in the sinful actions of men; that shall answer, that all that is said touching God's efficiency and concurrence, is true in respect of the evil motions and actions of men's will, materially considered; and not, formally, in that they are evil and sinful; for the one of these is consequent upon the other. For a free and deliberate act of a created will, about such an object, and with such circumstances, cannot be produced but it must have deformity annexed to it. There are some operations or actions, saith Cumel[2], that are intrinsically evil, so that in them we cannot separate that which is material from that which is formal, and wherein the sinfulness of sin consisteth: as it appeareth in the hate of God; and in this act, when a man shall say and resolve, I will do evil. So that it implieth a contradiction, that God should effectually work our will to bring forth such actions, in respect of that which is material in them, and not in respect of that which is formal. And this

[1] Metaphys. Tom. I. dist. 22, Sect. IV. p. 522. ["Nec satisfaciet qui responderit hæc omnia esse vera et admittenda de voluntate mali pro materiali, non vero pro formali, id est, quatenus mala est. Nam in præsenti unum ex altero sequitur; quia actus liber voluntatis creatæ circa hoc objectum, et cum his circumstantiis haberi non potest, quia habeat concomitantem malitiam."]

[2] Disp. var. ad primam, et primam secundæ, p. 104.

seemeth yet more impossible, if we admit their opinion who think, that the formal nature and being of the sin of commission consisteth in something that is positive, as in the manner of working freely, so as to repugn to the rule of reason and law of God. So that it is clear, in the judgment of these great divines, that if God have a true real efficiency, in respect of the substance of these sinful actions, he must, in a sort, produce the deformity, or that which is formal in them.

Wherefore, for the clearing of this point, we must observe, that there are three opinions touching God's concurrence with second causes in producing their effects. First, that God hath no immediate influence, but mediate only in respect of voluntary agents;—and according to this opinion it is easy to clear God from the imputation of being the author of sin, and yet to acknowledge his concurrence with second causes in producing their defective effects. "If the will of the creature," saith Scotus[1], "were the total and immediate cause of her action, and that God had no immediate efficiency, but mediate only, in respect thereof, as some think; it were easy, according to that opinion, to shew how God may be freed from the imputation of being author of sin, and yet to acknowledge his concurrence with second causes for the producing of their effects. For whether we speak of that which is material or formal in sin, the will only should be the total cause of it, and God should no way be a cause of it but mediately, in that he caused and produced such a will, that might at her pleasure do what she would." Durandus seemeth to incline to this opinion, supposing that second causes do bring forth their actions and operations by and of themselves, and that God no otherwise concurreth actually to the production of the same, but in that he preserveth the second causes in that being and power of working which at first he gave them. But they that are of sounder judgment resolve, that as the light enlighteneth the air, and, with the air, all other inferior things; so God not only giveth being and

[1] Lib. II. dist. 37, q. 1. ["Si hæc via esset vera posset secundum eam faciliter assignari quomodo Deus non sit causa peccati. Loquendo enim sive de materiali, sive de formali in peccato totum esset causatum a voluntate, sicut a totali causa, et ita nullo modo a Deo, nisi mediate, quia Deus produxit voluntatem talem."]

power of working to the second causes, and preserveth them in the same, but, together with them, hath an immediate influence into the things that are to be effected by them. "God," saith Cajetan, "being the first cause, worketh and produceth the effects of all second causes immediately: *tum immediatione virtutis, tum immediatione suppositi;*" that is, not only so as that the virtue and power of God, the first agent, immediately showeth itself in the production of the effect, but so also that he is an immediate agent, between whom and the effect produced no secondary agent intercedeth. Yet are we not to conceive that he is an immediate agent, *immediatione suppositi,* as he is *immediatione virtutis;* for he produceth immediately every effect of every second cause, in respect of all that is found in any such effect, immediately, *immediatione virtutis,* that is, so as that his virtue and power more immediately and effectually sheweth itself in the production of every such effect, than the power and virtue of the second cause; but he produceth every effect of every second cause, immediately, *immediatione suppositi,* that is, as an immediate agent, between whom and the effect no secondary agent intercedeth; not in respect of all that is found in such an effect, but of some things only, as existence, and the last perfection of actual being. For, to give being is proper to God, as to make fire is proper to fire. So that between God the supreme agent, and being, communicated to the effects of second causes, there is nothing that cometh between, that by force and power of its own, can produce any such effect. So that God, as an immediate agent, bringeth forth such effects; and all second causes, in respect thereof, are but instruments only. But in respect of those things found in the same effects, into which the second causes have an influence, by virtue of their own proper form, Cajetan confesseth that God doth not so produce them as an immediate agent, but that the second causes do mediate between him and them, and, as secondary principal agents, bring forth their effects. Yet are not these, that is, the first and the second causes, partial, but total causes of all those effects which they produce. For the clearing whereof we must observe, that a cause may be said to be total, either *totalitate effectus,* that is, because it bringeth forth the whole effect, though some other cause have such efficiency also in respect

of the same, that, without the help of it, it cannot bring forth any such effect; as when two men draw a ship, either of them produceth a whole effect, and moveth the whole ship, but yet not so wholly, but that either hath need of the other's help and concurrence: or, secondly, a cause may be said to be total, *totalitate causæ*, and that in two sorts; either so as to produce the whole effect without any concurrence of any other cause, in which sense neither God nor the creature, neither the first nor the second cause must be said to be a total cause; or so, as that though some other do concur, yet the being, power of working, and actual cooperation of it, is wholly from the agent with which it doth concur; and so God is a total cause of all those effects that he produceth by, and together with the second causes. So that the opinion of them who think, that God hath no immediate influence into the effects of second causes, nor immediate concurrence with such causes in producing their effects, is to be exploded out of all Christian schools and churches, as profane and heathenish. Wherefore there are, who, finding that this first opinion is not to be admitted, fly to a second little better than the former. For they acknowledge that God hath an immediate influence into the effects of all second causes, but they think it to be general, indefinite, and to be limited and determined by the different concourse of second causes. It is true, indeed, that God worketh all things as an universal cause: but this may be understood three ways.

For, first, a cause may be said to be universal, in the universality of predication, as opposite to special or particular; as an artificer, in respect of this and that special kind of artificers, is general, and is an universal cause of all works of art; and they, of such special works as are incident to their several kinds. Secondly, a cause may be said to be universal, in that it extendeth itself to effects of all sorts, in respect of something common to them all, and not in respect of that which is proper to each of them, unless the working of it be limited and directed by something else. The fire warmeth the water with which poison is mingled, in the same sort that it doth any other water, and without any difference of its own action. And, the actions of the sun and fire are such, as that men make use of them to what purposes they please; and, accordingly as their working is differently applied, bring

forth different effects. Thirdly, a cause may be said to be universal, because the efficiency and working of it extendeth itself to many things, according to the several differences of them, without being limited and determined by any other thing. These men suppose that God is an universal cause, in the second sense; and that his concurrence and influence is indefinite and general, and such as may be taken and applied by second causes, in what sort they will. So that the actions of free will, and the actions of every other second cause, have, from the freedom of the will, and the particular quality of the second causes, that they are of this or that sort, good or bad, and not from the concourse or influence of the first cause, which is indefinite; as is the concourse and influence of the sun with other inferior causes; and as one man may make offer of his help and concurrence to whatsoever another will make use of it. So they suppose God offereth his concourse to second causes, to be used by them to what purpose and in what sort they will. According to this conceit, they suppose they can easily clear the doubt, and free God from all imputation of being author of sin, though he concur immediately with second causes, in and to the producing of those actions that are sinful. For, say they, his concourse and influence are indefinite, and are by them applied in ill sort to ill purposes.

But, first, this conceit cleareth not God from being author of sin: and, secondly, it cannot stand with the grounds of philosophy or divinity. That it cleareth not God from being author of sin, but rather layeth this imputation on him, it is evident. For if the concourse of God be general, indefinite, and indifferent, and to be determined by the creature to the producing of good or evil, it followeth, that when the will of the creature determineth itself to the specifical act of sin, God also determinately concurreth with it in particular, to the producing of such an act in kind. That this consequence is good, it is evident, because whosoever shall offer his help, concurrence, and co-operation to another, indifferently, for the producing of good or evil, the acts of sin or virtue, as it shall please him; he concurreth, in truth and in deed, to the producing of the act of sin in particular, as it is such an act, if, by the will of the other, his concurrence and co-operation be determined to such an act in particular. Wherefore if

God, for his part, offer only a general concourse, and such as is indifferent to the producing of acts of virtue or sin, accordingly as the will of the second cause shall determine it, it will follow that God concurreth, determinately or in particular, to the producing of the act of sin; as being determined to the producing of such an act in particular by the will of the creature, before he come to actual co-operation or concurrence. Secondly, this conceit cannot stand with the grounds of true philosophy or divinity. For if God's concourse were only general and indefinite, to be determined by the will of the creature, the will of the creature should be before the will of God, in respect of the particularity of things; yea, in respect of some real act, as an act, it should be simply the first agent. For, according to this fancy, because the creature inclineth to such an act, and to put a thing in being, therefore God co-operateth. Whence it will follow, that there are two beings of things, and that God is not simply the first cause of all those things that have being. Secondly, it pertaineth to Divine Providence determinedly to will, and aforehand to appoint, what afterwards shall be; to move second causes to certain and determinate effects; and so to dispose of all things, that they may attain the ends for which they were created: but this could not be, if his concourse were indefinite and general only. Thirdly, if it were as these men imagine, the determination of the will of the creature should not be within the compass of things ordered by Divine Providence, and so God should not have particular providence of every particular thing. That this is consequent upon the fancy of indefinite concourse, it is evident. For if God's concourse be indefinite and in general only, then doth he not truly and efficiently work that the will of the creature shall in particular incline to, and bring forth such an individual action. And if he be not the cause that it so inclineth and worketh, his providence extendeth not to such working, seeing his providence extendeth to those things only wherein he hath a working. So that if these things were so as these men imagine, God's providence should extend itself to contingent things in a generality only, in that he hath given to intellectual creatures a freedom to what, when, and how it pleaseth them; and, in particular, in respect of things of this nature, he should have a presidence only, and no providence.

Neither doth that which is alleged by these men touching the indifferent concourse of the sun, or that of a man offering his concurrence in a generality only, prove that God's concourse is such; for the sun is a finite and limited thing, having something in act and something in possibility: and so is man likewise: and therefore they may be determined to produce such and such individual acts, by the concourse of some other cause: but God is a cause of infinite perfection, and a pure act, having nothing admixt of possibility, so that his action and will cannot be determined and limited by any other. Wherefore the resolution of the best divines is, that God's concourse and influence are not into the effects of second causes only, but into the second causes themselves. So that he doth not only, by an immediate concourse and influence, concur with the second causes for the bringing forth of such effects as they determine themselves unto, but he hath an influence into the second causes themselves, moving and working them to bring forth effects, and such effects as he thinketh good to work them unto.

This is proved by sundry reasons. First (as we see), second causes do not only produce some certain effects and operations, as within some certain kind, but they give unto them their last actual perfection, and, to be. But this they cannot give, unless they be made complete in virtue active, by the first agent; because an agent must be no less actual, than the effect or operation it bringeth forth. But every created agent is mixed and compounded of actual being and possibility, and is not so actual as an execution, that is, a second act: therefore, before it can bring forth any execution or effect, it must be made complete in virtue operative, by the actual motion of the first agent. Secondly, to be, is a most universal act, and the proper effect of God only: therefore, if we will speak formally and properly, second causes, in that they give being to their own effects, are but instruments of God: whence it will follow, that they must be moved by him in nature, before they give being to any of their effects. For an instrument doth nothing towards the producing of the effect of the principal agent, unless it be actually moved by the principal agent. Thirdly, every such thing as is sometimes an agent in act, sometimes but

potentially only, must be moved by some mover that is a pure act and hath nothing mingled with it of possibility, before it can bring forth any action. But the will of the creature is sometimes actually in action, sometimes but potentially only: therefore it must be moved by the first act, before it can bring forth any action. Which must be granted; for that, otherwise, the will of the creature, in respect of some actions, should be the first mover of itself, and the first determiner. That which is wrought by God, in and upon the second causes, to make them actually to be in action, is a thing that hath a kind of incomplete being, in such sort as colours have a being in the air, and, the power of the act in the instrument of the artificer: and so often as second causes, whether of natural or supernatural order, have, in respect of the form inherent in them, a sufficient active power in the nature of the first act, to bring forth their effects; the help, or precedent motion of God, whereby he moveth and applieth the same active powers to operate, is not a quality, but is more properly named a powerful motion, whereby the first and most universal agent so worketh upon them, that the second causes are actually in action, every one in sort fitting to the nature and condition of it. And to this purpose it is that Thomas Aquinas hath, that habitual grace is a quality, but the actual help whereby God moveth us to will a thing, is not a quality, but a certain motion of the mind. And, surely, it will easily appear, that there is a great difference between these. For the habit doth perfit the power of the soul, as a form or first act, implying possibility in respect of actual operation; because the habit doth not determine the power actually to work, but fitteth it only for action, and inclineth it thereunto. But this actual help and moving, putting forth the second causes into their actions, doth not perfit the power of working, but makes them actually to be in action. Lastly, the habit, in respect of the nature of it, may be the cause of divers actions; but that actual help and moving whereof we speak, determineth the will to one individual action, and yet taketh not from it a power of dissenting and doing otherwise.

Alvarez[1], a great and learned archbishop, that hath lately

[1] Disp. XXIV. part. III. [p. 231. "Deus efficaci voluntate prædeter-

written with good allowance of the Church of Rome, layeth down these propositions: First, that God, by an effectual will, predetermined all such acts of men and angels as are good, and all such as are not evil *ex objecto*, though *in individuo* they be evil, and sins *ex mala circumstantia*. Which he proveth out of Isaiah x., where Almighty God saith, "Assur is the rod of my wrath, he is my staff; I will send him to a deceitful nation, and against the people of my fury will I give him a command." And a little after: "Shall the axe boast against him that cutteth with it? or shall the saw be lifted up against him that draweth it? as if a rod should be lifted up against him that lifteth it, and the staff, which is but wood." Here it is evident that Assur sinned *ex mala circumstantia*, in subduing the nations; and yet it is clear that God predetermined that he should waste and destroy the nations, and that he sent him to that purpose, and moved him so to do. His second proposition is this, that whatsoever is positive, and of being, in act of sin, though intrinsically and *ex objecto* evil, it hath God for the first moving cause, and he doth primarily and originally predetermine the will of the creature, by an actual motion to such an act, in that it is an act, and in that it hath being; and yet not to the deformity of it[1]. But Cumel disputeth strongly against this proposition in this sort: "There are certain acts," saith he, "intrinsically evil, so that in them that which is material cannot be separated *a formali malitia peccati*, that is, from the deformity or sinfulness of such an act. So that it implieth a contradiction, that God should determine our wills freely to bring forth such an action, in respect of that which is material in it, and not to determine it to bring forth the same action, in respect of that which is formal." And this

minavit omnes actus bonos ex objecto qui fiunt in tempore et eos qui ex objecto non sunt mali, in quantum actus sunt, quamvis alias in individuo sint peccata ex mala circumstantia."]

[1] [Ibid. p. 232. "Quicquid entitatis reperitur in quocumque actu peccati, etiamsi alias sit intrinsece malus debet reduci in Deum tanquam in primam causam præmoventem et prædeterminantem actuali motione voluntatem creatam ad talem actum, in quantum actus est, secundum quod est ens."]

Ibid. p. 244. ["Bene potest Deus immediate præbere auxilium actuale ad producendam entitatem actus peccati, in quantum actus est, absque eo, quod cooperetur ad ejus deformitatem."]

reason hath greater force against them that hold that the formality of sin consisteth in something that is positive, as in the manner of working freely, with positive repugnance to the law of reason and of God. For if God predetermine, and effectually move to the producing of evil actions, in respect of that which is material in them, and the substance of the act, he must necessarily also predetermine the same actions, in respect of all their positive conditions and circumstances: as the freedom of working, and the positive repugnance to the law of God. And if he determine the will to work repugnantly to the law, he must needs move and determine it to sin; seeing to sin is nothing else but to repugn unto the law. So that it must not be said, that God is the original cause that man hath any such action of will as is evil *ex objecto.* For if he should originally and out of himself will any such act, he must be the author of sin, seeing such an act is intrinsically evil, so that it cannot be separated from deformity: but whosoever willeth the substance of such an act, must also will the deformity annexed thereunto, in the same sort as he willeth the substance of it; as is already proved.

Wherefore, that we may rightly conceive how God may be said to will actions of this kind, I will lay down these propositions: First, that of the sin of omission no higher cause needeth to be sought, than the deficient will of the creature; and that God no otherwise decreed the entrance of it, but in that he decreed the denial of that grace, without which he knew such omission would be. The second, that the sin of omission is in order before the sin of commission. "The sin of omission was first in the angels," saith Wickliffe, "as it is also in every man that sinneth." "Omission," saith Alexander of Hales[1], "in the order of sins, so far forth as we may conceive that there is any order amongst them, is before commission." The third, that the sinner falling into the sin of omission, putteth himself not only into an estate of aversion from God, but of opposition also, and being adverse unto God; and, so, into a necessity of committing sin, so long as he continueth in that state. For he that is opposite

[1] ["Dicendum quod omissio in ordine peccatorum, sicut contingit ordinem dicere, prior est omissio quam commissio." Pars II. q. 130. m. 8.]

to God, if he have any action at all, must of necessity have such as are repugnant to the will and law of God. The fourth, that God, the universal mover, who moveth and worketh all things to bring forth such actions as are fitting to their condition, ceaseth not to work and move upon men and angels after they are become averse; but he still moveth and impelleth them to do things fitting to that condition wherein he findeth them, as he doth all other things: and as he worketh, in and together with all second causes, such effects as are fitting to their condition; so he bringeth forth, in and with these thus averse, actions fitting to such an estate of aversion and adverse opposition, that is, such as are beside and contrary to the rule of righteousness. So that, to conclude this point, God neither worketh the creature to be evil; for it becometh evil of itself, by falling into the sin of omission: nor simply and absolutely moveth and determineth it to do evil: but he moveth it to do things fitting to the condition wherein it is, even after, by its own fault, it is become evil; and produceth, in and together with it, such actions as are fitting to that estate, that is, such as are evil. And his will being, that nothing shall be without action, nor without action fitting to the condition thereof, he hath settled it by an effectual and positive decree, that he that will be averse and evil, shall not but do evil, so long as he is and will be in such an estate and condition. "If we speak," saith Gregorius Ariminensis, "de prima mala voluntate, non habuit causam efficientem, quia nulla res fuit quæ aliquid faciendo faceret illam malam, sed ipsa desistendo a bona volitione facta est mala: sed malæ volitionis aliqua est causa." That is: "If we seek out how the will of the creature at first became ill, there is no efficient cause thereof to be found; for there was nothing that did anything to make it evil; but, of itself, by desisting to will that it should, it became evil: but of the act of willing what it should not, there is a positive cause." It is excellent to this purpose that Luther hath in his book *De Servo Arbitrio*, against Erasmus: "Reason yieldeth," saith he, "that God worketh all in all, and that nothing can be done without him, for he is omnipotent, and this pertaineth to his omnipotency, as Paul saith to the Ephesians. Now Satan, and man fallen from God and forsaken of him, cannot will that which is good, that is, such things as please God, or

such as he would have to be done; but being turned away to desire such other things as shall please themselves, they cannot but seek those things that are their own. This nature of men and angels thus turned from God, is not nothing; neither is Satan and a wicked man nothing; neither can we say they have no nature, nor will, though they have a corrupt and averse nature. Therefore, that which remaineth of nature in a wicked man, and in Satan, as a creature and the work of God, is no less subject to omnipotency, and the action of God, than all other creatures and works of God are. Whereas, therefore, God moveth and worketh all in all, he moveth and worketh also in Satan and the wicked man: and he worketh in them in such sort, as is fitting to that they are, and as he findeth them; that is, so that being evil and averse, and yet carried on with the motion of Divine omnipotency, they cannot but do such things as are averse and evil. As if a horseman shall drive a horse that goeth but on two or three feet, he maketh him go so as he must needs go, if he go at all, so long as he is thus lame, that is, haltingly. But what should the horseman do? he driveth on the lame horse with the others that are sound: they go well, this ill. It cannot be otherwise, unless the horse be freed from his lameness."

Here we see by this comparison, how that when God worketh in and by them that are evil, such things are done as are evil, but that God cannot do evil, though he produce in and by them that are evil such things as are evil, because he being good cannot do evil. Yet doth he use ill instruments, which cannot but be moved with the motion of his power, nor cannot but do evil if they be moved. So that the fault is in the instruments which God moveth and will not suffer to be idle, that evil things are done when he moveth them, no otherwise than if a carpenter, using an ill axe, should cut, or rather tear the timber ill-favouredly. And hence it cometh, that the wicked cannot but always do amiss and sin; because, being carried on by the motion of divine power, they are not suffered to do nothing, but are forced to will, desire, and do that which is fitting to the state wherein they are, till they be altered by God's holy grace and Spirit. And hereunto agree all the best learned in the Roman schools. If the name of sin, saith Gregorius Arimi-

nensis[1], be taken improperly for an evil act, as for such an act as whosoever doth[2] sin; for example, for the act of willing something that should not be willed, or for some other inward or outward act which the sinner doth, there is some doubt whether God be an immediate efficient cause of such a sinful act, or not; and there are solemn opinions one contrary to another touching that point. But, without peremptory defence of the one or the other, which might argue rashness; for the present, I hold the affirmative as more probable, and, as it seemeth to me, more consonant to the sayings of the saints. And he addeth, whereas some speak of the deformity of such a sinful act, denying God to be any efficient cause thereof: "Si per difformitatem intelligatur aliqua entitas, quæcunque et ubicunque illa sit, Deus coagit illam, nec oppositum scio dici a sanctis.—Doctores autem aliqui moderni utique dicunt, quod licet actus difformis sit a Deo, difformitas tamen ipsa non est a Deo. Quod dictum potest habere bonum intellectum; non quidem concipiendo quod difformitas sit aliqua entitas ab actu distincta, quæ non causetur a Deo; sed intelligendo quod licet actus difformis sit a Deo, non tamen in quantum est difformis, est a Deo. Nam non est difformis nisi in quantum contra rectam rationem fit ab homine, non autem ea Deo qui nihil agit contra id quod ab eo agendum esse judicat ratio recta."—"Non ejusdem rei et secundum idem Deus est actor et ultor; sed ejus est actor, in quantum entitas quædam; ejus vero ultor in quantum est malum. Est autem mala in quantum malè fit, et ideo pro ea punit eum a quo male fit[3]." "If by the deformity they understand any being, or any thing that is positive, whatsoever and wheresoever it is, God is a cause

[1] Lib. II. d. 34, 35, 36, 37, q. I. art. 3, [p. 110. "Si nomen peccati capiatur improprie, sc. pro actu malo seu quem aliquis faciendo peccat, verbi gratia pro mala volitione vel aliquo alio actu interiori vel exteriori quem agit peccator, tunc dubium est, et de ipso sunt sollennes opiniones contrariæ, quarum neutram temere affirmarem; pro nunc communem affirmativam tanquam probabiliorem et ut mihi videtur sanctorum dictis magis consonam teneo."

[2] The sense in this place is not clear; but would become so thus: "as, for such an act as whosoever doth, *sinneth:*" which is evidently the meaning of the original Latin. Ed.]

[3] [Fol. iii. 6.]

thereof: neither do I know," saith he, "that the contrary is delivered by the saints. Indeed there are certain modern doctors that say, that though the act wherein deformity is be from God, yet the deformity is not: which their saying may have a good sense, not conceiving that the deformity is any positive thing distinct from the act, whereof God should not be an actor; but so understanding it, that though the act which is done otherwise than it should be done be of God, yet it is not done otherwise than it should be done, as it is done by God; for God doth nothing in producing such an act that he should not do, but the creature only. So that, as the divines do tell us, God is not an actor and a punisher of the same thing in respect of the same; but he is an actor of the thing in that it is a thing done, but a punisher in that it is ill done. And therefore he punisheth him that hath done ill in doing ill, himself having done the same thing well." "Quid mirum," saith Anselm[1], "si dicimus Deum facere singulas actiones, quæ fiunt mala voluntate, cum fateamur eum facere singulas substantias, quæ fiunt injusta voluntate, et inhonesta actione?" That is, "What strange thing is it, if we say, that God produceth all those actions which sinful men do wickedly, seeing we confess he produceth all those substances which are brought forth by a sinful desire of the will, and an unhonest action?" God produceth and formeth the same child in the womb which a man begetteth in adultery; and yet man only sinneth, and not God. "Si vero dicitur;" saith Hugo de St Victore[2], "Deus vult malum, grave est auditu, et non facile recipit hoc pia mens, de bono quod malum vult; videtur enim hoc solum dici, cum dicitur Deus vult malum, quia bonus malum diligit, et approbat quod pravum est, et amicam sibi reputat iniquitatem, et gaudet quasi de consimili, et bonum putat quod malum est: et ideo refutat hoc mens pia, non quia quod dicitur non bene dicitur, sed quia quod bene dicitur non bene intelligitur. Non enim hoc solum dicitur; sed in eo quod dicitur, aliquid intelligitur quod non dicitur. Quoniam malum esse vult, et malum non vult." That is, "If it be said that God willeth the thing that is evil, men hardly endure to hear

[1] De Casu Diaboli, c. xx.

[2] Hug. Erudit. Theolog. de Sacram. lib. I. part. IV. c. 12, 13.

it, and a pious and good mind doth not easily admit, that he that is good willeth the thing that is evil: for we conceive nothing else when we say, God willeth that which is evil, but that he that is good loveth that which is evil, and approveth that which is wicked. And therefore a good mind rejecteth such a speech, not because it is not right and good, but because that which is rightly said, is not rightly understood: for this speech is not so to be taken, as if God loved or approved that which is evil; but something is to be understood which is not expressed. And the meaning of this speech is, that God willeth the being of evil, or that evil shall be; and yet willeth not evil, that is, approveth it not."

Now when it is said, that God willeth the being of evil, or that evil shall be, the meaning of this saying of Hugo is, concerning the sin of omission, that he willeth it no otherwise, but only in that he denieth that grace, which only he knoweth would work the doing of the contrary good: and concerning the sin of omission, that he produceth in and together with them, that by falling into the sin of omission are become evil, such actions as are evil. There are, saith Cameracensis[1], who hold, that God hath an efficiency, and is a cause producing the action that is sinful, and that he may and doth cause and will that which is sin; as Ockam, Bradwardine, and sundry other renowned doctors. And elsewhere he saith[2], that according to the opinion of the master of the sentences, God only permitteth those evils which are

[1] Lib. I. q. 13, art. I. ["Secundum illos qui tenent quod Deus est causa peccati, et potest causare aut velle peccatum, sicut Ockam, Bradwardinus, et plures solennes doctores concedunt, negaretur antecedens."]

[2] Lib. I. q. 14. ["Tertio notandum sicut in primo principio intuli contra quemdam magistrum, quod capiendo permissionem, ut est signum voluntatis Dei, non est concedendum quod Deus permittit mala culpæ fieri. Nam quod aliquis permittat aliquid fieri potest dupliciter intelligi. Uno modo, quod nec percipit, nec prohibet, nec consulit, illud fieri, sed indulget:—alio modo quis dicitur aliquid permittere fieri; quod nec habet velle, nec habet nolle ut fiat, sed solum non velle. Et talis permissio non est signum divinæ voluntatis.—Et isto modo secundum Magistrum Deus permittit mala culpæ.—Sed secundum Bradwardinum et alios qui tenent quod Deus vult mala culpæ; et quod respectu cujuslibet rei habet velle, vel nolle, nec habet solum non velle."]

sin, and that he neither willeth their being, or not being. For if he did will their being, he should be the cause of them, which he thinketh must not be granted: and if he did will their not being, they should not be. But Bradwardine and others hold, that God willeth those evils that are sins; and that, in respect of everything, he hath an act of evil, either that it shall be, or not be; and not a mere negation of such an act. If we speak, saith Ockham[1], of the sin of commission, we must not think that the will of the creature hath an efficiency, and is so the cause of that act, but that God also (who as immediately produceth every act of the creature, as the creature doth itself) hath his efficiency, and is a cause also even of the deformity that is found in such an act, as well as of the substance of the act; seeing, as we have already shewed, the deformity in an act of commission, is nothing else but the very act itself that is done contrary to the precept. Yet doth not God originally move the creature to do any such evil act; but contrariwise so made it, and would have so continued it, if the fault had not been in itself, that it should never have done any evil act. But finding it by its own fault averse and turned from him, notwithstanding all the gracious means he used to retain it, he goeth on moving and carrying it forward with restless motions, and produceth in and with it thus averse, actions fitting to such an estate, and such as it must needs bring forth, if it bring forth any at all; that is, such as are evil. Thus he doth without all fault of his, who must not cease to do his work of moving and carrying forward all things with restless motions, though by their own fault being put out of due course, they do not attain their wished good, but run themselves into endless evils. Thus then God did only by subtraction and denial of that grace, without which he saw the creature would not be won to continue in that state of good wherein it was to be created, decree and purpose, the entrance of the sin of omission and aversion: but presup-

[1] In Sen. lib. III. q. 12. ["Si loquamur de peccato commissionis sic non solum voluntas creata est causa efficiens illius actus, sed ipse Deus qui omnem actum immediate causat sicut causa secunda quæcumque, et ita est causa positiva difformitatis in tali actu sicut ipsius substantiæ actus, quia sicut dictum est difformitas in actu commissionis non est nisi ipsemet actus, elicitus contra præceptum divinum."]

posing this purpose, and foreseeing that which would follow upon it, by his consequent and conditional will, he positively decreed the other, which is of commission. For seeing man must needs seek an infinite good, and love it infinitely, and if he seek it not in God, must seek it elsewhere, God did decree that man not continuing to adhere to him, should seek his chief good in himself, and so consequently fall into self-love, pride, and all other evils of that kind. This is the opinion of many worthy divines of the Roman Church; and this is that Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, and the rest meant, if anywhere they affirmed that God doth effectually move, impel, and incline sinful creatures to do such things as are evil, namely, that God hath settled such a course in things, that they that will not do what they should, shall do that they should not; and that he will not suffer them that fall from him to do nothing, but will effectually move them to will, desire, and do that, which is fitting to the estate into which they put themselves, so long as they continue in the same, and will not be reclaimed and won to return to him again. And this, agreeable to that of St Augustine, that God inclineth or moveth no man to evil, but he inclineth such as are evil to this or that evil. With whom Anselm[1], writing upon the Epistle to the Romans, agreeth, where he saith, "that God may be said to deliver men up to their own hearts' desires, when being prone to evil, he stayeth them not;" and addeth, "that it is also manifest, that God doth work in the hearts of men, to incline their wills whithersoever he pleaseth, either to choose things that are good out of his mercy, or to choose things that are evil according to their deserts; the reasons of his judgment being sometimes manifest, sometimes hid, but always just. For because men have run into some sins, they afterwards fall into many; and God, that long expecteth the sinner, looking that he should return, when he findeth that he returneth not, but contemneth both

[1] Cap. 1. ["Tradere enim dicitur Deus, dum non retinet delinquentes propter arbitrii libertatem ad malum promptissimam. Manifestum quoque est Deum operari in cordibus hominum ad inclinandas eorum voluntates quocumque voluerit, sive ad bona pro sua misericordia sive ad mala pro meritis eorum, judicio utique suo, nonnunquam aperto, nonnunquam occulto, semper autem justo. Nam propter præcedentia peccata, multiplicantur sequentia. Et Deus qui peccatorem diu expectat, ut redeat, non redeunti atque contemnenti ponit adhuc ubi gravius impingat." p. 12, Ed. 1612.]

his justice and mercy, he casteth something in his way, at which he may stumble and fall yet worse than before. Inter primum peccatum apostasiæ, et ultimam pœnam ignis, media quæ sunt, et peccata sunt, et pœna peccati. Whatsoever sins do come between the first sin of apostasy, and the last punishment, which is that of eternal fire, they are both sins and punishments; and therefore God may justly deliver up such as fall from him by the first sin of apostasy, and depart from him unto their own hearts' desires, for the committing of such things as are not seemly."

Thus then we may resolve touching the entrance of sin. First, God purposed eternally to make man a rational and intellectual creature, indued with knowledge of all things, and faculty and power to make choice of what he would. Secondly, man could not be thus made, and be naturally free from possibility and danger of making an evil choice, disposing amiss of himself, and offending against the laws of a righteous Creator. Thirdly, God wanted not gracious means to hold him inseparably to himself, and to preserve him infallibly from falling away, though he were not, nor could not be, naturally free from possibility of falling. Fourthly, God foresaw, that if man were so created and left to himself, as afterwards he was, he would sinfully depart from him. Fifthly, he saw that it was best to create and leave him so; and that if sin should enter, he could take an occasion thereby of the manifestation of greater good, than the world otherwise could ever know. Sixthly, seeing the determination of man's will, that if he should be thus created and left, he would avert from him, and sin would enter, he determined so to create him and leave him, and to give way that sin might enter. Thus then we do not say that God did absolutely, without all prescience of the determination of man's will, determine and decree that sin should enter; but that, foreseeing what would be the determination of his will, if he were so created and left to himself, as in his divine wisdom he saw it to be fittest, he determined so to create and leave him; and purposed, by subtraction of grace, to give way to the sin of aversion, or omission, and permissively to suffer it for to enter; and by a positive decree resolved, that, averting himself from the fountain of all goodness, and the rule of all righteousness, he should run into innumerable dangerous evils and grievous sins of commission.

But Bellarmine will say, that Calvin denieth that God's determination, decreeing what shall be, dependeth on this prescience; and that his prescience presupposeth his purpose and decree. For answer hereunto, we must remember that there is a double prescience, *simplicis intelligentiæ* and *visionis*[1]. The first is of all those things that are possible, and which, upon any supposed condition, may be: as was that prescience of God whereby he foreknew, that if in Tyrus and Sidon those things should be done which afterwards were done among the Jews, they would repent. This doth not presuppose the decree of God, but extendeth to many things God doth not decree, nor purpose to be; as it appeareth in the example proposed. The other is of those things only which hereafter shall be: and this presupposeth some act of God's will. For seeing nothing can be, unless some act of God's will do pass upon it, at least not to hinder the being of it, nothing can be thus foreseen, as being hereafter for to be, unless some decree of God do pass upon it. Of this kind of prescience Calvin speaketh, and not of the other. For that first kind of prescience, what the creature would do, if it were so created and left to itself, as afterwards it was, was before any decree of God, or determination what he would do. But that other, to wit, what hereafter shall be, not so: and therefore Calvin rightly affirmeth, that God's foresight of the entrance of sin presupposed his decree that it should enter.

Thus I see not what can be disliked by our adversaries in our doctrine thus delivered, nor what difference can be imagined between them and us, touching the entrance of sin. "But," saith Bellarmine[2], "Calvin affirmeth, that the end for

[1] Scotus, lib. I. dist. 41, quæst. unica. "Sola permissio alicujus actus, et certitudo de permissione non facit certitudinem de illo actu, quia oporteret habere aliquam causam effectivam: igitur ex hoc quod Deus præscit se velle permittere—Luciferum peccare,—ex hoc, inquam, solo non videtur quod sciat Luciferum esse peccaturum. (Solvitur hæc objectio, quia Deus non solum scit se permissurum, sed etiam præscit se non cooperaturum ei ad actum necessarium, et per consequens quem omittet: et scit se cooperaturum ad substantiam actus prohibiti sine debitis circumstantiis, et per consequens committit.)"

[The Author abridged the passage enclosed in a parenthesis, employing the same words. Ed.]

[2] Lib. II. c. 17, De Amissione gratiæ et statu peccati. [Quoting from the Institutes, III. 23, § 7.]

which God purposed to make man, was the manifestation of the severity of his justice and the riches of his mercy; and that the consideration of this end, was the first thing that was found in God, when he thought of creating man; so that this purpose was before and without respect unto the prescience of anything that afterwards might or would be in man. And that, because there was not anything wherein he could shew either mercy or justice, unless sin did enter, therefore, secondly, he purposed that sin should enter. So that first he purposed to punish before he saw any cause, and then purposed the entrance of sin, that there might be cause: which is no less inexcusable from injustice, cruelty and tyranny, than if he should purpose to punish, and so do, without any cause at all. Thus (saith he), it should seem, that the first origin and spring of sin is from the will of God, according to Calvin's opinion."

For answer hereunto we must note, that Calvin doth nowhere say, that God did purpose the manifestation of his mercy and justice before all prescience, but only before that which is named *præscientia visionis*. Secondly, that Calvin doth nowhere pronounce, that simply and absolutely the end wherefore God purposed to make man, was the manifestation of the severity of his justice, and the riches of his mercy; or, that he might save some, and condemn others: but, as I conceive, according to Calvin's opinion, four things are implied in God's purpose of creating man. First, what he meant to bestow upon him. Secondly, what he meant to deny unto him. Thirdly, the foreknowledge what would fall out, upon the bestowing of such benefits only, and the denying of others; namely, sin and apostasy. Fourthly, his purpose, notwithstanding his foreknowledge, to bestow upon him only such benefits of his rich and abundant goodness, and no other. So then, the end of those benefits, which God purposed in such sort, and in such degree and measure, to bestow upon man in his creation, was not the manifestation of his mercy and justice, neither did he purpose the entrance of sin originally out of his own liking, that he might have matter of punishment, as Bellarmine injuriously chargeth Calvin to affirm; but the end of his purpose of bestowing such benefits only, and no other, notwithstanding his foreknowledge what would fall out, if so he did, was, that he might shew his mercy and

justice, in saving and condemning whom he would. And against this, Bellarmine neither doth nor can except.

Thus having cleared those doubts that occur in the doctrine of the divines of the Reformed Churches, touching the entrance of sin; let us come to the second part, and see what it is that they attribute unto God when sin is entered. The actions they attribute to God when sin is entered are three: limitation, direction, and condign punishment of one sin with another. For the first, that God setteth bounds to wicked men in their wickedness, not only in respect of the effect and event, but also of the very inward purpose, affections, and designs, and at his pleasure stoppeth them when he will, I think none of our adversaries will make any question. For the devil himself was limited how far he should proceed in afflicting Job[1]; and could not enter into a herd of swine[2] without leave obtained. For though the will to do evil be not of God, yet the power is; for there is no power that is not of God.

Touching the second, which is direction; though God be not the author and causer of evil, nor may be thought without impiety to put it into men, yet when he findeth it in them, he directeth it, not only in respect of the kind wherein the person against whom, and the time when it shall break forth, but also in respect of the end and effect; in which sense it is, that Bellarmine[3], and Stapleton both say, that though God incline not simply and absolutely unto evil, yet he inclineth and bendeth the wills of them that be wicked, that they shall be wicked in this sort, rather than that; at this time, than at some other; against such men, rather than against

[1] Job i. 12. [2] Matth. viii. 31.

[3] Lib. II. c. 13. De Amissione gratiæ et statu peccati. ["His autem addi potest ex S. Thoma in Comment. c. ix. ad Rom.: Deum non solum inclinare voluntates malas ad unum potius quam ad aliud, permittendo ut ferantur in unum, et non permittendo ut ferantur in aliud, ut Hugo recte docuit, sed etiam positive inclinando in unum et avertendo ab alio, non quidem per se, sed occasionaliter. Quemadmodum intelligi debet Deum præcepisse Semei ut malediceret David. Dicitur enim Deus præcepisse, quia corruptam Semei voluntatem inclinavit ad maledicendum David. Inclinavit autem (ut diximus ex Hugone) non compellendo sed aperiendo illi viam ad hoc malum et claudendo ad alia, id est, permittendo, ut hoc solum malum vellet, et perageret ex multis, ad quæ parata erat."]

those they more malign and desire to despite, if they were left to themselves. This God doth in that he openeth the passage, and maketh way for wickedness to come forth and shew itself in what sort he pleaseth, and stoppeth all other. Even as a man being in a high tower, and desiring to cast himself down, there being many passages through which he might cast himself out; if a man should stop all but one, though he might not justly be said to be the cause of the fall of him that should thus cast away himself, yet might he rightly be said to be the cause why he fell rather this way, and out of this window or passage, than any other[1]; so doth God order, dispose, and direct the wickedness of men to break out in what sort, at what time, and against what persons he pleaseth, and no otherwise; and is author *ordinis in malo*, though not *mali*.

When we say he openeth the way and passage for wickedness to break forth, we must understand that he doth this in two sorts[2]: either by not hindering it from breaking forth in some one kind, which he suffereth no otherwise to shew itself; or, in that he positively inclineth it hither rather than thither, not by way of cause, but of occasion offered. In which sense it is that David saith, "God commanded Shemei to curse him" (2 Sam. xvi. 10); not as if God had either inwardly or outwardly persuaded him so to do, but because, finding him full of malice against David, he so prospered David before, that he durst not revile him, nor had no cause to insult upon him: but now he presented him to his eyes in such a miserable estate, forsaken of many, and pursued by his own son, as he knew would occasion these words of insultation and bitter malediction. Thus, then, God commanded Shemei to curse David, not by precept, outwardly requiring him so to do; nor by persuasion, inwardly inclining him to so vile an action; but by direction; inclining him, by words of malediction to express his bitter affection (which long before desired to vent itself) now at this time,

[1] Hugo Victor. De Sacr. I. § 29. "Qui præcipiti qua vult ad ruinam viam aperit, quodammodo ipsum inclinat, non impellendo, sed permittendo, et non tenendo: nec auctor illi est ruendi, sed incedendi ordinator." [Cf. Opera ejusdem, I. 385.]

[2] Thomas in comment. c. 9. [sect. III.] ad Rom. citatur a Bellar. lib. II. c. 13. De amissione gratiæ et statu peccati.

and for the punishment of David's sins, rather than at another time and in another sort.

So when wicked men had spoiled Job, he said, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away," imputing it to God (Job i. 21); not as if he had made them to become robbers, but for that being such, he directed their wickedness, and used it to the trial of his servant, opening a passage for their wickedness, and presenting to them such things as he knew would occasion his courage. As likewise the Jews in crucifying Christ[1], are said to have done nothing but that which God had before resolutely determined; not as if God had purposed their wickedness, but only because, knowing what was in them, he was pleased to direct, guide, and turn their wickedness and furious malice to the effecting of his own purposes.

The third action that we attribute unto God is, that he punisheth one sin by another. In punishments, Hugo de Sancto Victore noteth three things[2]: the matter with which a man is punished; the contrariety between it and the party punished; and the order of consequence, that where such an offence went before, such an evil shall follow, to make the party offending feel the smart of it. In those punishments which be punishments only, and not sins, God is the author and cause of all these three things implied in the nature of punishments: in those which be punishments and sins, God is author only of the order of consequence, and the contrariety between them and the nature of the parties punished; not of the matter wherewith they are afflicted and punished. As for example; pride is punished by envy: envy is not of

[1] Acts ii. 23.

[2] In annotationibus elucidatoriis quæstionum in epistolam Pauli ad Roman. cap. i. [26. in] illa verba, *Tradidit illos Deus.*

["Itaque hujusmodi pœna, quæ aliquid est, propter tria dicitur a Deo esse. Propter materiam et naturam et judicium. Secundum vero duo, sc. culpam et corruptionem, non est a Deo. Illa autem pœna, quæ peccatum est, propter duo dici potest, quod sit a Deo, sc. propter judicium Dei, et propter naturam; quæ est, quod nemo potest sic peccari, quin ipse puniatur." Opera, I. 384.]

["Sic quoque dicimus; quod Deus subtrahendo gratiam culpa nostra exigente: nec ipse causa est, quare subtrahatur gratia secundum nos; nec hoc facit aliquid operando, sed non operando, quod prius operabatur." Hugo. ib.]

God; but, the contrariety between it and the soul of man, which maketh it bitter and afflictive, is; and, the order of consequence; that where pride went before, envy must follow. Neither doth God only punish one sin with another, when there is such a dependence of one upon the other, that where one goeth before the other must follow; but oftentimes, when there is no such necessary dependence, yet he withdraweth his grace, and, for the punishment of one sin, letteth men run into another. In this sense there are three things attributed to God, in the punishment of wicked and godless men: the blinding of their understanding; the hardening of their hearts; and the giving of them up unto a reprobate sense.

These things God is said to do three ways: first, by subtraction and denial of that grace which should lighten the understandings, and soften and mollify the hearts of men; secondly, by giving leave to Satan to work upon them, and no way either strengthening them against him, or weakening his force; thirdly, occasionally and by accident, when God doth that which is good, which yet he knoweth, through the evil disposition that is in men, will increase their wickedness, and make it greater than it was before.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE HERESY OF ORIGEN TOUCHING THE IMAGE OF GOD, AND TOUCHING HELL, FALSELY IMPUTED TO CALVIN.

IN the third place, the Jesuit, fearing that men should think he were near driven, and wanted store, chargeth Calvin at once with two heresies of Origen. The first, concerning the image of God; the second, touching hell and the punishments of it.

Touching the first, it is true that Epiphanius chargeth Origen with heresy[1], for saying that Adam lost the image of God by his disobedience and sin. But how justly, it

[1] Hæresis. LXIV. [§ 4.] et in Epistola ad Johannem Episcopum Hierosolymitanum. [Opera, II. 316.]

is very doubtful; seeing neither Hierome nor Theophilus Alexandrinus (most diligently noting his errors) make any mention of it. And therefore it may be probably thought, as Alphonsus à Castro noteth[1], that if any such thing was found in the works of Origen, it was so delivered by him, as that it might carry a good construction, and free from heresy. But leaving it uncertain what it was that Origen meant by the loss of God's image, for the clearing of Calvin, we must note that which Thomas Aquinas[2] (no heretic, I hope, in Bellarmine's judgment), being a canonized saint of the Romish Church, hath fitly observed to this purpose.

He noteth first, that the image of God consisteth in the eminent perfection which is found in men, expressing the nature of God in an higher degree than any excellency of other creatures doth. Secondly, that this perfection is found principally in the soul. Thirdly, that it is threefold: first, natural; which is the largeness of the natural faculties of understanding and will, not limited to the apprehension or desire of some certain things only, but extending to all the conditions of being and goodness; whose principal object is God; so that they never rest satisfied with any other thing, but the seeing and enjoying of him. The second kind of this perfection is supernatural; when the soul actually, or at the least habitually knoweth and loveth God aright, though not so perfectly as he may, and shall be loved hereafter. The third is, when the soul knoweth and loveth God in fulness of happiness. The first is of nature; the second of grace; and the third of glory. The first of these is never lost, no, not by the damned in hell: the second, Adam had, but lost it, and it is renewed in us by grace; the third we

[1] Contra Hæreses. lib. II. *Adam et Eva.* ["Secundus de hac re ortus est error, asserens Adamum post peccatum perdidisse imaginem Dei. Hunc errorem tribuit Origeni Epiphanius.—Cum ergo jam de persona dictum sit, superest ut de errore discutiamus. In primis illud mihi dubium est an Origenes senserit hominem per peccatum aliquid de sua substantia perdidisset, an solum qualitates animæ aliquas, vel ut sub aliis verbis dicam, an imaginem perdiderit an solam similitudinem."]

[2] 1 Parte summæ quæst. 93. art. IV. ubi ait, "Glossam distinguere triplicem imaginem: creationis, recreationis, et similitudinis; prima invenitur in omnibus hominibus; secunda in justis tantum; tertia vero solum in beatis."

expect in heaven. To think the image of God considered in the first sort to be lost, is heresy: but Calvin is free from it. To think it lost in the second sort, is the Catholic doctrine of the Church: for who knoweth not that man hath lost all right knowledge and love of God by Adam's fall?

Some restrain the name of the image of God to the excellency of the soul's nature, framed to know all things, and never to rest satisfied in anything under God: and so, generally and absolutely deny, that the image of God can be lost or blotted out. These make a difference between the image of God thus restrained to the largeness and admirable perfection of the natural faculties of the soul, and the similitude or likeness of God which appeareth in the qualities and virtues of it, making him that possesseth them partaker of the divine nature; which they confess to be lost. Now this similitude is all one with the image of God in the second consideration set down by Aquinas: and therefore in this matter Calvin erreth not, but writeth that which is consonant unto the truth.

Touching the second part of this imputation, it is true that Origen erred[1], thinking hell to be nothing else but horror of conscience: but he that looketh in the place in Calvin cited by the Jesuit, shall see that he saith no such thing, but the clean contrary. So that the reader shall find Bellarmine to be constant, and still like himself, adding one calumniation to another.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE HERESY OF THE PEPUTIANS, MAKING WOMEN PRIESTS.

THE fourth heresy imputed unto us by our adversaries, is that of the Peputians, who gave women authority to intermeddle with the sacred ministry of the Church. That

[1] Hier. in Epist. ad Avitum, [Enumerating the errors of Origen in his Treatise, περὶ ἀρχῶν. "Ignis quoque gehennæ et tormenta quæ Scriptura sancta peccatoribus comminatur, non ponit in suppliciis sed in conscientia peccatorum, quando Dei virtute et potentia omnis memoria delictorum ante oculos nostros ponitur."]

we do so likewise, they endeavour to prove, by misreporting the words of Luther. There are two things, therefore, which Luther saith, in the place alleged by them. First, that in absolution and remission of sins, in the supposed sacrament of penance, a bishop, or ordinary presbyter, may do as much as the pope himself; which Alphonsus à Castro[1], writing against heresies, confesseth to be true. The second, that when, and where, no presbyter can be found to perform this office, a layman, yea, or a woman, in this case of necessity, may absolve: which our adversaries need not to think so strange, seeing themselves give power to women to baptize, in case of necessity: which (I think) is as much a ministerial act, as to absolve the penitent, in such sort as absolution is given in the Church of Rome. And yet they would think themselves wronged, if from hence it should be inferred that they make women priests and bishops. But Bellarmine reporteth the words of Luther, as if he should say absolutely that a woman or child hath as much power and authority from God in these things, as any presbyter or bishop: wherein he is like himself[2].

Absolution, in the primitive Church, was the reconciling and restoring of penitents to the peace of the Church, and to communion of the sacraments, from which, during the time of their penitency, they were excluded: this, in reason, none could do, but they to whom the dispensation of the sacraments was committed, and who had power to deny the sacraments. The popish absolution is supposed to be a sacramental act, sacramentally taking away sin, and making the party absolved partaker of the remission of it: this is a false and erroneous conceit. Luther thinketh it to be a comfortable pronouncing, and assuring of good to the humble, penitent,

[1] Lib. II. verb. absolutio. ["Secunda de hac re hæresis est, quæ dicit puerum ac mulierem æque absolvere ut papam. Hujus hæresis auctor est Martinus Lutherus. Ut autem clarius ejus insana mens pateat, verba ejus referam, et sunt quæ sequuntur. 'In sacramento pœnitentiæ ac remissione culpæ non plus facit papa, episcopus, quam infimus sacerdos, imo ubi non est sacerdos, æque tamen quilibet Christianus, etiamsi mulier aut puer esset.' Primum istorum si recte intelligatur illi concedimus, viz. omnes sacerdotes quantum ad absolutionem culpæ parem habere potestatem."]

[2] [Of the Peputians see S. August. De Hæres. c. 27.]

and sorrowful sinner: which though, ordinarily, and *ex officio*, the minister be to do, yet may any man do it with like effect, when none of that rank is, or can be present. Thus, when the matter is well examined, it is merely nothing that Bellarmine can prove against Luther.

But that which he addeth touching our late dread sovereign Elizabeth, of famous memory, that she was reported and taken as chief bishop within her dominion of England, &c., is more than a cardinal lie, and might beseem the father of lies better than any meaner professor of that faculty.

For the kings and queens of England neither do, nor have the power to do, any ministerial act, or act of sacred order; as to preach, administer sacraments, and the like: but that power and authority which we ascribe unto them, is, that they may, by their princely right, take notice of matters of religion, and the exercise of it, in their kingdoms; that they may, and in duty stand bound to see that the true religion be professed, and God rightly worshipped; that God hath given them the sword to punish all offenders against the first or second table, yea, though they be priests or bishops; that neither the persons nor the goods of churchmen are exempted from their power; that they hold their crowns immediately from God, and not from the Romish Antichrist; that it was the Lucifer-like pride of Antichrist, which appeared in times past in the popes, when they shamed not to say[1], that the kings of England were their villains, vassals, and slaves. Thus, then, the fourth supposed heresy we are charged with, proveth to be nothing but a devilish slander of this shameless Jesuit.

We say, therefore, to silence this slanderer, that we all most constantly hold the contrary of that he imputeth unto us; and that we think, there is no more dangerous or presumptuous wicked boldness, than for any man not called, set apart, and sanctified thereunto, to intermeddle with any part of the sacred ministry of the Church.

[1] Mattheus Paris. in Henrico III. de Innocentio IV. p. 844.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE SUPPOSED HERESY OF PROCLUS AND THE MESSALIANS, TOUCHING CONCUPISCENCE IN THE REGENERATE.

THE fifth heresy which he endeavoureth to fasten upon us, is, he saith, the heresy of Proclus, of whom Epiphanius maketh mention[1]. But what was the heresy of Proclus? Let Bellarmine tell us, for our learning. It was, saith he, that sin doth always continue and live in the regenerate; for that concupiscence is truly and properly sin, which is not taken away by baptism, but only allayed, stilled, and brought, as it were, into a kind of rest and sleep, by force thereof, and the working of faith. In this, Bellarmine sheweth his intolerable either ignorance, or impudence, or both. For Epiphanius, in the place cited by him, refuteth the heresy of Origen, who denied the resurrection of the bodies of men, as thinking such bodily substances (which we see are continually subject to alteration here in this world), not capable of immortality; and that God did put these bodies upon Adam and Eve after their sin, at that time when he is said to have made them coats of skins. This Epiphanius refuteth[2], shewing that God, who only hath immortality, made man, though out of the earth, yet by the immediate touch of his own hands; that he breathed into him the breath of life, for that he meant he should be immortal; that man had flesh and blood, and a true bodily substance, before his fall, as is proved by that of Adam concerning Eve, "*This is now flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone;*" that there was no evil found in the world, such as death is, in the beginning; that man voluntarily sinned against God, and thereupon God brought in death; that even as the schoolmaster useth correction, not for any delight he hath in it, but for that thereby he intendeth to bring his scholars to forsake their negligent and disordered courses, and to do those things he prescribeth to them; in like sort, God, seeing that sin was entered, brought in punishments to repress it: and seeing that it would be eternal if man did continue immortal, he brought in death to make an end of it. For (saith Epiphanius)[3] sin is so deeply rooted

[1] Hæres. LXIV. [§ 17.] [2] [§ 22, 23.] [3] [§ 24.]

in us, that it cannot be quite killed, nor pulled up by the roots, while the body and soul remain together: even as (saith he)[1] when some wild fig-tree groweth in the walls of the goodly and stately building, and defaceth and hideth the beauty and glory of it, the boughs and branches may be cut or broken off, but the root, which is wrapped into the stones of the building, cannot be taken away, unless the walls be thrown down, and the stones cast one from another; so, the sin which dwelleth in us hath the roots of it so enwrapped into our nature, and the parts of it, that howsoever the boughs and branches may be cut and broken off, the root remaineth while we carry about us this body of death, and will cause more branches to grow forth, till, by death, the parts of our nature, to wit, the soul and the body, be sundered and divided. And, as the wall may be raised again, and the stones thereof in due sort laid together, when the roots of the trees, which formerly grew into it, be taken forth; so when the root of sin is removed, by death, out of man's nature, God will bring these parts of his nature together again, and give him that immortality, both of body and soul, which he intended to him in his creation, and would have given him, had not death been necessary for the rooting out of that sin he voluntarily fell into.

That sin is so deeply rooted in the nature of man, that it cannot be plucked up but by death, Epiphanius saith it is evident by that of the apostle, who pronounced of himself, that "to will was present with him, but he found no ability to perform; that the good he would do, he did not, and the evil that he would not do, that he did; and that yet it was not he that did it, but sin that dwelleth in him." By this (saith he) it is proved, that sin is not pulled up by the roots; that it is not dead, but living; that there is no man but hath evil thoughts and desires which grow from this bitter root of sin, which neither baptism nor faith do wholly remove or kill; that sin is only repressed, resisted, and stilled from raging and prevailing in such sort as it did before, but not wholly taken away[2].

Thus, then, we see, that Epiphanius most excellently delivereth that, in the defence of the truth, against Origen and such like heretics, which Bellarmine imputeth unto us as

[1] [§ 25.] [2] [§ 26.]

heresy condemned by Epiphanius. Wherein, surely, he was either grossly abused by others, making him believe Epiphanius saith that which most peremptorily he denieth: or else, he was willing to deceive and abuse others.

Howsoever, this advantage we have gotten thereby, that our assertion that sin remaineth after baptism, and that the root of it is not taken away nor killed till by death the soul and body be divided, is proved to be the ancient doctrine of the primitive fathers.

But if Epiphanius fail him, Bellarmine hath another author whereon to rely: for he saith, Theodoret reporteth[1], that the Messalians were condemned for heretics, because they thought that baptism, as a razor, shaveth away sins past, but doth not take away the root of sin; and that, therefore, for that purpose, we must fly to the force of prayer.

This opinion of the Messalians touching the not taking away the root of sin, in such sort as they understood it, and Theodoret disliked it, we also condemn. For we think, that baptism doth not take away sins past, but the very root of all sins, which is original sin; though not wholly (for then we should dissent from Epiphanius before alleged); yet in such sort, as I will deliver in that which followeth.

The error of the Messalians Bellarmine attributeth unto us, because we teach that concupiscence in the regenerate is sin. For the better clearing of this point, we must observe, that the Romanists do err most dangerously in the matter of original sin, and natural concupiscence. For, first, they teach, that the contrariety between the spirit and the flesh, the proneness inordinately to desire things transitory, sensible, and outward, and the difficulty to that which is best, are the primitive conditions of the nature of man; and, consequently, that concupiscence, neither after nor before baptism, in the

[1] Hæreticarum Fabularum, lib. IV. [§ 11. *τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα φασὶ μηδὲν ὀνεῖν τοὺς προσίοντας, ξυροῦ γὰρ δίκην ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰ πρότερα, τὴν δὲ ῥίζαν οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τῆς ἁμαρτίας. ἡ δὲ ἐνδελεχὴς προσευχὴ καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν τῆν ἁμαρτιάς πρόῤῥιζον ἀνασπᾷ καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγκληρωθέντα πονηρὸν δαίμονα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξελαύνει.*] "These heretics thought that baptism doth not take away original sin, which is the root of all other, nor deliver us from the power of Satan, nor give spirit and grace to resist sin. These errors we condemn; and therefore we are unjustly charged with the heresy of the Messalians.

regenerate nor unregenerate, is sin or punishment of sin, but a condition of pure and sole nature. For if a man had been created in a state of pure nature (that is, having all that pertaineth to the integrity of nature, and nothing else), it would have been found in him. Neither do they make any doubt, but that God might have created man in the beginning with all those defects he is now subject unto, and yet without all sin: for, the being subject to them, argueth not sin: but whereas they were restrained, bridled, and suppressed by addition of supernatural qualities, the having of them at liberty, by voluntary loss of those qualities, is not without sin.

Thus, then, howsoever they talk of concupiscence in the regenerate, and would seem to deny it to be sin in them only, yet they do as well deny it to be sin in men not regenerate, as in the regenerate; and make it only a punishment of sin, if yet they yield so much unto the truth. For indeed, according to their erroneous conceit, concupiscence is a sequel of nature, and not a punishment of sin: so that all they do or can say, is nothing but this, that concupiscence was natural, and such a thing as might be found in the integrity of nature; that it was restrained by supernatural grace, added above that nature requireth, for the perfecting of her integrity; that the having it now free and at liberty, to provoke, move, and incline us to sin, is the punishment of that sin whereby we deprived ourselves of supernatural grace.

But we say, contrary to this absurd conceit of theirs; First, that all these defects and evils, to wit, contrariety between the better and meaner faculties of the soul, proneness to do evil, and difficulty to do good, do arise and grow out of the want of that original righteousness, the property whereof is, to subject all unto God, and to leave nothing void of him.

Secondly, that this righteousness was essentially required to the integrity of nature: so that there is no state of sole and pure nature, without addition of sin or grace, as the Papists fondly imagine; for that the nature of man is such as must either be lifted above itself by grace, or fall below itself, and be in a state of sin.

Thirdly, that all declinings and swervings from that per-

fect subjection unto God, and entire conjunction with God, which grace worketh, are sins and decays of nature's integrity: and, consequently, that concupiscence, being a declining from that entire subjection to, and conjunction with God, is truly and properly sin, whatsoever our adversaries teach to the contrary.

Fourthly, that original righteousness is said to be a supernatural quality, because it groweth not out of nature, and because it raiseth nature above itself: but that it is natural, that is, required to the integrity of nature.

Neither should it seem strange to any man, that a quality not growing out of nature, should be required necessarily for the perfecting of nature's integrity; seeing the end and object of man's desires, knowledge, and action, is an infinite thing, and without the compass and bounds of nature. And, therefore, the nature of man cannot, as all other things do, by natural force and things bred within herself, attain to her wished end; but must either, by supernatural grace, be guided and directed to it; or, being left to herself, fail of that perfection she is capable of, and fill herself with infinite evils, defects, and miseries.

This may suffice for refutation of vain and idle conceits of the Papists, concerning three estates of man; the one of grace, the other of nature, and the third of sin: out of which, we may observe, that, howsoever they endeavour to make shew of the contrary, yet indeed they think that concupiscence is not sin, neither in the regenerate nor unregenerate. Whereupon it is, that Bellarmine[1], speaking of the guilt of concupiscence, which, the divines say, is taken away in baptism, though the infirmity remain; saith, it must be under-

[1] Lib. v. c. 13. De amissione gratiæ et statu peccati. [Sic igitur dicitur reatus concupiscentiæ non quod ipsam habere faciat hominem reum sed quod ipsa nata sit ex reatu peccati Adami." And again, a little above, when explaining the opinions of St Augustine, in his treatise *Contra Julianum*, mentioned below, Bellarmine observes: "S. Augustinus significat quidem concupiscentiam in non renatis esse peccatum, et propterea remitti per baptismum, sed intelligit eam peccatum esse non ratione sui, sed ratione reatus peccati originalis, qui cum ea annexus manet usque ad baptismum." Brewer's Ed.]

Hugo de Sancto Victore dicit: "concupiscentia spiritus inordinata est culpa: concupiscentia carnis pœna et culpa," &c. Alex. de Hales, p. ii. q. 122. memb. 2. art. i.

stood of that guilt which causeth concupiscence, not which is caused of it. For, (saith he) original sin maketh guilty, and subjecteth men to concupiscence; but concupiscence doth not make them guilty that have it; and therefore it is not sin, neither before nor after baptism.

But we say, with Augustine[1], "Sicut cæcitas cordis, quam solus removet illuminator Deus, et peccatum est, quo in Deum non creditur; et pœna peccati, qua cor superbum digna animadversione punitur, et causa peccati, cum mali aliquid cæci cordis errore committitur: ita concupiscentia carnis, adversus quam bonus concupiscit spiritus, et peccatum est, quia inest illi inobedientia contra dominatum mentis; et pœna peccati est, quia reddita est meritis inobedientis; et causa peccati est, defectione consentientis, vel contagione nascentis." —"As the blindness of heart, which God removeth when he lighteneth those that were formerly in darkness, is a sin, in that, by reason of it, men believe not in God; and a punishment of sin, wherewith the proud hearts of wicked men are justly punished; and a cause of sin, when, erring by reason of this blindness of heart, they do those things that are evil: so the concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good spirit doth strive and covet, is a sin, because there is in it a disobedience against the dominion of the mind, and a punishment of sin, in that it falleth out, by the just judgment of God, that they who are disobedient unto God shall find rebellious desires in themselves: and it is a cause of sin, in that men, either by wicked defection consent unto it, or by reason of the general infection of human nature, are born in it."

We think, therefore, there should be no question made of concupiscence, and other like defects and evils found in the nature of man, but that they are, in their own nature, sinful defects. And hereof, I am well assured, none of the fathers ever doubted. But how far they are washed away and remitted in baptism, which is the matter about which Bellarmine wrangleth and taketh exception against us, let us now consider.

Alexander of Hales[2], the first and greatest of all the schoolmen, noteth divers things most fitly to this purpose,

[1] Contra Julianum, lib. v. § 3.

[2] Pars IV. q. I. membro. 8. art. ii. De Sacramento Baptismi.

out of which we may easily resolve what is to be thought of this matter. First, therefore, he observeth, that there are two sorts of sins: some natural, which are in the person from the general condition of nature; some personal, that are acted by the person, and so defile the nature; as all actual sins. Secondly, that concupiscence is of the first kind, being an evil contracted and cleaving to nature, not personally acted or wrought by us. Thirdly, that concupiscence may be considered, either as it hath full dominion, and is a prevailing thing in them that have it; or, as it is weakened, and hath lost that strength, dominion, and command, which formerly it had. Fourthly[1], that concupiscence, while it hath dominion, is a sin defiling and making guilty both the nature and person in which it commandeth all; but if it lose this dominion, it cleaveth to the nature only, and is not imputed to the person for sin, unless he some way yield unto it, be drawn by it, or suffer himself to be weakened in well doing, by the force of it. Fifthly that the benefits of grace are not general, but special, and of privilege; not freeing the whole nature of man from sin and punishment, as sin corrupted and defiled all; but that they extend only personally to some certain. Sixthly, that when men are born anew in baptism, they are freed from all that sin which maketh their persons guilty before God; and, consequently, from all punishments due to them for anything their persons were chargeable with. But because they still remain in that nature[2] which is of the mass of malediction, therefore sin cleaveth to their nature still, and they are subject to the common punishment of hunger, thirst, death, and the like. Seventhly, that the dominion of that sin which is of nature, is taken away by the benefit of regeneration in baptism. Whence it cometh, that the persons of men baptized are not chargeable with it, though they remain still in that nature wherein it is; and, consequently, that the punishments which they are subject unto (because

[1] ["Dicitur concupiscentia culpa ante baptismum et tunc dominatur et habet carentiam debitæ justitiæ sibi conjunctam."] Alex. de Hales, pars II. q. 122. memb. 7. art. 1.

[2] ["Peccatum originis transit reatu, manet actu: in actuali peccato præcedit actus, sequitur reatus, nec dicitur in originali peccato actus peccati quo sit; vel quo est, sed quo remanet ad exercitium."] Alex. de Hales pars II. q. 122. memb. 6.

they remain in the communion of that nature which is not generally free from sin), cease to be unto them in the nature of destroying evils, serve to divers good purposes, and turn to their great benefit.

So then we say, with the fathers, and best learned of the schoolmen, that concupiscence in men not regenerate, is a sin, corrupting and making guilty both the nature and the person wherein it is; and that, in the regenerate, it cleaveth to nature as a sin still, but having lost the dominion it had, so that it cannot make the person guilty, not prevailing with it, nor commanding over it. "Regnum amittit in terra; perit in cœlo:" "It is driven from the kingdom it formerly had in the saints of God, while they yet remain on earth; but it is not utterly destroyed, till they go from hence to heaven." Thus, then, I hope, it appeareth, that we are far from the error of the Messalians, and do fully accord with the Catholic Church of God; and that the Romanists are not far from the heresy of Pelagius.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE HERESIES OF NOVATUS, SABELLIUS, AND THE MANICHEES.

THE sixth heresy that we are charged with, is that of Novatus, who would not have those that fell in the time of persecution, reconciled and received again to the communion of the Church upon their repentance. But we receive all penitents whatsoever: and therefore this lying slander may be added to the rest, to make up a number.

But they will say, the Novatians were condemned for denying penance to be a sacrament; and that therein, at least, we agree with the Novatians. This is as false as the rest: for it is most certain, that the absolution which was given in the primitive Church, disliked by Novatus, was not taken as a sacramental act, giving grace and remitting sins, but as a judicial act, receiving them to the peace of the Church, and the use of the sacraments, which had been

formerly put from them. This[1], the best and most judicious of the schoolmen confess, besides the infinite testimonies that might be alleged out of the fathers, to prove the same. It was then an admitting to the use of the sacraments, not itself a sacrament.

But Calvin saith, that the speech of Hierome, that *pœnitentia* is *secunda tabula post naufragium*, is impious, and cannot be excused; and therefore it seemeth he inclineth to the Novatian's heresy, in denying the benefit of penitency to distressed and miserable sinners that seek it. Augustine[2], in his book, *De Mendacio ad Consentium*, maketh it a disputable question, whether a man that usually lieth, speaking truth at some one time, with purpose to make men think it like the rest of his lying speeches wherewith they are well acquainted, may not be said to lie when he speaketh truth, because he intendeth to deceive, and doth deceive. Surely, if this man should speak any truth, I fear the reader would think it a falsehood, because his ordinary manner is, seldom or never to speak any truth. Doth Calvin say the speech of Hierome is impious, and not to be excused, as he reporteth he doth? Surely no: but that if it be understood as the Papists understand it, it cannot be excused. For they conceive thereby, that the sacrament of penance is implied; which Hierome never thought of.

But he will say, the Novatians refused to have those that they baptized, to receive imposition of hands, with which was joined, in those times, the anointing of the parties with oil. Surely so they did: but so do not we; for we think of the use of imposition of hands, as Hierome doth in his book against the Luciferians. But touching the use of oil, though at that time there was no cause for the Novatians to except much against it, yet now that it is made the matter and element of a sacrament, and that, by a kind of consecration, the ground whereof we know not, we think we do

[1] See that which we have noted cap. vii. out of Alex. of Hales and Bonaventure, affirming that the minister is a mediator between God and men, dealing with God by way of entreaty, with men by way of command: by prayer and petition, obtaining for sinners remission at God's hands; and by authority and power resting in him, restoring them to the Church's peace.

[2] De Mendacio ad Consentium, lib. I. cap. 4.

not offend in omitting it, no more than the Church of Rome[1] in omitting innumerable ceremonial observations of like nature, that were in use in those times.

The seventh is the heresy of Sabellius; which, he saith, was revived by Servetus. So it was, indeed, that Servetus revived, in our time, the damnable heresy of Sabellius long since condemned in the first ages of the Church. But what is that to us? How little approbation he found amongst us, the just and honourable proceeding against him at Geneva will witness to all posterity.

The eighth is the heresy of the Manichees; which taught, that evils which are found in the world, were from an evil beginning; so making two original causes, the one good, of things good; the other evil, of things evil. It is true, that this was the damnable opinion of the Manichees. But will the shameless companion charge us with this impiety? I think he dareth not: for he knoweth that we teach, that all the evils that are in the world had their beginning and did proceed from the freedom of man's will, which while he used ill, he overthrew and lost both himself and it; that while he turned from the greater to the lesser good, and preferred the creature before the Creator, he plunged himself into innumerable defects, miseries, perplexities, and discomforts, and justly deserved that God, from whom thus wickedly he departed, should make all those things which formerly he appointed to do him service, to become feeble, weak, unfit, and unwilling to perform the same.

But, saith he, Luther affirmeth, that all things fall out by a kind of absolute necessity; whence the heresy of the Manichees may be inferred. The answer to this objection is easy: for Luther taketh necessity for infallibility of event; thereby meaning, that all things fall out infallibly, so as God before disposed and determined; but doth not imagine a necessity of coaction enforcing, nor a natural and inevitable necessity, taking away all freedom of choice; as our adversaries injuriously impute unto him.

If this of Luther fail, as indeed it doth, Bellarmine hath another proof and demonstration that we are Manichees, for

[1] See Dionysius' Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, cap. ii. part 2, where a great number of ceremonial observations are mentioned, which are long since grown out of use in the Church of Rome.

that Calvin denieth man to have freedom of choice in anything whatsoever. This is a most false and injurious imputation. For, though Calvin deny that man can do anything in such sort as therein to be free from the direction and ordering of Almighty God, yet he confesseth that Adam's will, in the day of his creation, was free, not only from sin and misery, but also from limitation of desire and natural necessity, and left to her own choice in the highest matter and of most consequence of all the rest; and that man, by making an evil choice, did run into those evils which he is now subject unto. Calvin, then, is not worse than the Manichees, as making God the author of those evils which the Manichees attribute to an evil beginning, as Bellarmine is pleased to pronounce of him; but is farther from that hellish conceit than Bellarmine is from hell itself, if he repent him not of these his wicked and hellish slanders.

But, saith he, the Manichees blamed and reprehended the fathers of the Old Testament; and so also doth Calvin: therefore, Calvin is a Manichee. This is as if a man should thus reason with Bellarmine: Porphyry blamed Paul, as an arrogant man, for reprehending Peter, that was his ancient, and before him in the faith of Christ; and Bellarmine disliketh him for persecuting the Church of God in the time of his infidelity: therefore, Bellarmine is as bad, or worse than Porphyry. For, the Manichees thought that the Old Testament was from an evil beginning; and, therefore, exaggerated all the faults and sins of the fathers that then lived, for confirmation and strengthening of this their blasphemy. But Calvin hateth this impiety more than the Romanists, who imagine a greater difference betwixt the state of the Jews and the Christians than he doth. It is, therefore, an ill consequence; Calvin doth not hide[1], nor excuse, but con-

[1] "Ad illud de Jacob, licet aliqui conentur multum salvare eum, et aliquos Patres Veteris Testamenti non fuisse mentitos, cum tamen in aliis concedant eos habuisse legem imperfectam et gratiam modicam respectu nostri, qui et legem habemus perfectam, et gratiam superabundantem, et de multis non negatur aliquando mentiri, vel fuisse mentitos, non videtur multum rationabile negare illos quandoque fuisse mentitos vel potuisse mentiri. Quod si ita est, et si laudemus bona facta eorum, et illa sumamus in exemplum, mala autem nec recipimus in exemplum, nec pertinaciter excusamus.—Et Judeth ipsa se ornavit

démn, the murder and adultery of David, the drunkenness of Noah, and the incest of Lot; therefore he is like the Manichees, that thought the Old Testament was from an evil beginning. Surely, there is neither good beginning nor ending to be found in the writings of this slanderous Jesuit.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE HERESIES OF THE DONATISTS.

THE next heresy imputed unto us, is that of the Donatists, who denied those societies of Christians to be the Churches of God, wherein wicked men are tolerated, and the rules of discipline are not observed; and thought, that the Church, whose communion we must hold, doth consist only of the good and elect people of God.

Touching the first part of this imputation, we disclaim it as most unjust and injurious. For (as I have shewed in the first part), we confess that wicked and godless men are oftentimes tolerated in the true Church of God, either through the negligence of the guides thereof, or upon due consideration of the scandals and evils that would follow, if they should be rejected and cast out, by reason of their greatness, power, or number.

Touching the second part, in what sense only the good and elect people of God are of the Church; and how and in what degree hypocrites, wicked men, and reprobates, while they hold the profession of the truth, may be said to be of the Church, I have likewise cleared in the first part.

But, saith Bellarmine, the Donatists thought the Church to be only in Africa, and the Protestants think it to be only in the northern parts of the world, and therefore they are

ea intentione, ut Holofernes caperetur in aspectu suo, et hoc volendo ipsum velle peccare secum mortaliter, et velle alium velle peccare mortaliter est peccatum mortale: unde non videtur omnino certum, quod excusata sit ab omni peccato mortali: et licet factum ejus narretur in Scriptura, et recitetur in Ecclesia tanquam laudabile, quantum ad aliqua quæ erant ibi religiositatis, aliqua tamen ibi annexa, nec laudantur, nec licent." Scotus, lib. III. dist. 38, quæst. unica.

not far from Donatism. Surely, as far as he is from any honest and sincere meaning. For none of the Protestants have any such conceit, as to think the Church of God so straitened as that it should be nowhere found but in the northern parts of the world, where themselves do live. But the Romanists may much more justly be charged with Donatism, who deny all the societies of Christians in the world, wherein the pope's feet are not kissed, and his words holden for infallible oracles, to pertain to the true Church of God; who acknowledge no true Churches of Christ, but their own conventicles; so casting into hell all the Christians of Æthiopia, Syria, Armenia, Græcia, and Russia, for that they stand divided from the communion of the Church of Rome. Which unchristian censure we are far from, thinking that all those societies of Christians, notwithstanding their manifold defects and imperfections, be, and continue, parts and limbs of the true and Catholic Church of God.

Lastly, he saith, the Donatists committed many outrages against true Catholic bishops, spoiled the Churches of God, and profaned the holy things they found in them. But what can he conclude from hence against us? With which of these impieties can he charge us? Our blood hath been spilt by them like water in the streets; our bodies tormented, and consumed with fire and sword: and all this by the procurement of the Antichristian bishops, sworn enemies of Christ and vassals of Antichrist. Yet have we hurt none of them, but in patience possessed our souls, knowing that our judgment is with God; and that when he maketh inquiry for blood he will find out all their barbarous acts of cruelty, which they have done against us. We have profaned nothing that is holy; we have removed and abolished nothing but the monuments of gross idolatry; and therefore we are not to be compared to the Donatists. If in any place, in popular tumults, or confusions of war, whereof ever the Romanists have been the causes, there have been anything done in fury that was not fit, we cannot excuse it, nor could not remedy it.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF THE HERESIES OF ARIUS AND AERIUS.

THE tenth imputation is of Arianism; which heresy we accurse to the pit of hell, with all the vile calumniations of damned slanderers that charge us with it. Neither did ever any of our men incline unto it, or give any occasion of so execrable an heresy. Touching traditions[1], which, Bellarmine saith, the Arians did refuse; they were not blamed for denying unwritten verities. For I hope the Romanists will not disadvantage the Catholic cause so much, as to confess, that the Godhead of Christ, which was the thing the Arians denied, cannot be proved by Scripture, and that the fathers were forced to fly to unwritten traditions for proof of it. But they were blamed, for that, when the thing had proof enough by Scripture, they refused the word *consubstantial* (most happily devised to express the truth against the turnings and sleights of heretics), only because they found it not in Scripture; as if no words nor forms of speech might be allowed, but those only that are there expressly found.

The eleventh is the heresy of Aerius. Aerius condemned the custom of the Church, in naming the dead at the altar, and offering the sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is, of thanks-

[1] "Eæ voces, quæ extra Scripturam sunt, nullo casu a nobis suscipiuntur." Maximinus apud Augustinum Collatio cum Max. I. in initio: unde Aug. lib. III. [al. II.] c. 14, [§ 3] contra eundem sic habet. "Pater et Filius unius sunt ejusdemque substantiæ: hoc est illud homousion, quod in Concilio Nicæno adversus hæreticos Arianos a Catholicis patribus veritatis auctoritate et auctoritatis veritate firmatum est, quod postea in Concilio Ariminensi propter novitatem verbi minus quam oportuit intellectum, quod tamen fides antiqua pepererat, multis paucorum fraude deceptis, hæretica impietas sub hæretico Imperatore Constantio labefactare tentavit: sed post non longum tempus libertate fidei Catholicæ prævalente, posteaquam vis verbi, sicut debuit, intellecta est, homousion illud Catholicæ fidei sanitate longe lateque defensum est. Quid est enim homousion, nisi unius ejusdemque substantiæ? Quid est inquam homousion, nisi *Ego et Pater unum sumus?* Sed nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense, tanquam præjudicaturus, proferre Concilium; nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris: Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumcunque propriis, sed utrisque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet."

giving, for them. He disliketh set fasts; and would not admit any difference between a bishop and a presbyter. For this his rash and inconsiderate boldness and presumption, in condemning the universal Church of Christ, he was justly condemned: for the practice of the Church, at that time, was not evil in any of these things: neither do we concur with Aerius in the reprehension of that primitive and ancient Church. For, howsoever we dislike the popish manner of praying for the dead, which is to deliver them out of their feigned purgatory, yet do we not reprehend the primitive Church, nor the pastors and guides of it, for naming them in their public prayers, thereby to nourish their hope of the resurrection, and to express their longing desires of the consummation of their own, and their happiness that are gone before them in the faith of Christ. If any of the fathers did doubtfully extend the prayers then used further than they were originally or generally intended or meant, it was not to be imputed to the whole Church.

Of our allowance of set fasts, I have spoken before: and of the difference between a bishop and a presbyter I shall have a fit occasion to speak in examining the note of succession, and the exceptions of the Romanists against us touching the same. If it be said, that sundry of our divines seem to acquit Aerius in these points, they are to be conceived as understanding his reprehension to have touched the errors and superstitions, which even then perhaps began in some places, and among some men, to grow into practices and doctrines of the Church which were not evil nor erroneous. For otherwise his reprehension, if it be understood to extend to the general practice and judgment of the Church, is not, nor may not be, justified.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE HERESY OF JOVINIAN.

THE twelfth heresy imputed to us is the heresy of Jovinian; concerning whom we must observe, that Augustine ascribeth unto him two opinions, which Hierome mentioneth not, who

yet was not likely to spare him, if he might truly have been charged with them[1].

The first[2], that Mary ceased to be a virgin, when she had borne Christ: the second, that all sins are equal. If these were the opinions of Jovinian, as it may very well be doubted, we condemn them, and his error therein, as much as the Romanists do. For, we think that Mary continued a virgin in and after the birth of Christ. But they will say, many of the Protestants divines do teach, that the doors of Mary's womb were opened when Christ was born; and from thence it will follow that she ceased to be a virgin. This consequence we deny: for, otherwise, Tertullian[3], Ambrose[4], Hierome[5], and sundry other of the fathers, shall be proved to have denied the virginity of Mary after the birth of Christ; which yet they all most constantly believed. But they know well that no such thing can be concluded from thence. For, as Tertullian aptly noteth[6], there is *virgo a viro*, and *virgo a partu;* that is, a virgin may be so named, because she hath not been a mother, nor the doors of her womb opened by bearing a child; or, because she hath known no man, though she have borne a child. In this sort a virgin may remain a virgin, and yet be a mother and bear a child, with the opening of the doors of her womb, if this child thus conceived in her, and born of her, were not begotten by man, nor the doors of her womb opened by the knowledge of man. So that though it be granted, that Christ when he was born opened the womb of Mary his mother, yet she remained a

[1] [See Alphonso de Castro. Lib. XII. p. 1035. v. Peccatum.]

[2] Aug. lib. de Hæresibus, c. 82.

[3] Tertul. de Carne Christi. "Tertullianus dicit Mariam patefacti corporis lege peperisse, et Tertulliano divus Ambrosius quoque subscribit." Rhenanus in arg. in lib. Tertulliani de Carne Christi.

[4] Lib. II. c. 7, in Lucæ ii. ["Hic ergo solus aperuit sibi valvam." So again: "Hic est qui aperuit valvam matris suæ, ut immaculatus exiret." § 57. Compare these expressions with those of St Ambrose in his remarks on the words: *Non cognovit illam donec peperit filium.* § 6.]

[5] Lib. II. contra Pelagianos. ["Solus enim Christus clausas portas valvæ virginalis aperuit, quæ tamen clausæ jugiter permanserunt." p. 512.]

[6] Lib. de Carne Christi. [§ 23. "Peperit enim, quæ ex sua carne, et non peperit quæ non ex viri semine. Et virgo quantum a viro, non virgo quantum a partu."]

virgin still, because that which was conceived in her was of the Holy Ghost. Neither should our adversaries in reason press this argument so much, seeing their own schoolmen confess[1], there may be an opening of the womb in such as still remain virgins. Thus then we say, with the fathers, that Christ being Mary's first-born, may be said more properly to have opened the womb of Mary his mother, than any other first-born do, because he found it shut when he came to the birth, which they do not. But, that from hence a denial of Mary's virginity will follow, we deny. And therefore we are wronged in this challenge, as in the rest.

Touching the opinion of the parity of sins, which is in the second place imputed to Jovinian, we hold it to be a stoical paradox. Their argument to prove that we think all sins to be equal, because, as they suppose, we deny the difference of venial and mortal sins, and think all sins to be mortal, is very weak: first, because we do not deny the difference between venial and mortal sins, as shall appear in that which followeth; and secondly, because if we did make all sins to be mortal, yet of mortal sins one may be, and is, greater and more grievous than another.

The opinions that Hierome imputeth to Jovinian are four[2]. The first, that there is an equality of joys and rewards in heaven. This opinion we do not hold; neither can it be deduced by necessary consequence from the words of Luther, where he saith, that all Christians are as holy and just as the mother of God: for he speaketh of imputed righteousness, which is equal in all men, from which no imparity of joy can flow: but he never denieth inherent righteousness to be more

[1] Durand. lib. IV. d. 44. q. 6. "Verissimum est beatam Virginem Mariam permanisse virginem in partu, et post partum, sicut ante: fuit enim virgo non solum ex carentia experientiæ delectationis venereæ per quam proprie amittitur virginitas, sed etiam ob membri integritatem corporalis: nec tamen propter hoc in nativitate Christi fuerunt duo corpora simul, quia fieri potuit dilatatio membrorum et meatuum naturalium sine interruptione vel aliqua fractione; sicut, secundum Aug. 14. de Civit. Dei, hoc factum fuisset in omnibus mulieribus, in statu innocentiæ."—"Nolim equidem dicere, quod viros nonnullos doctos certe atque Catholicos sine cujuspiam reprehensione nostra ætate dixisse video, Christum modo quodam matris uterum aperuisse." Maldonatus in Luc. ii. 23.

[2] Hieronym. lib. I. et II. contra Jovinianum.

in one than in another, and more in Mary the mother of Christ than in any other. Now from this imparity of inherent righteousness it is that there are so different degrees of joy and glory found among the saints of God that are in heaven.

The second opinion which Hierome condemneth in Jovinian, is, that there is no difference between abstinence from meats, and the sober and due taking of them with thanksgiving. This we judge not to be so truly delivered by him, as was to be wished. For, eating with thanksgiving is a matter of ordinary sobriety and temperance; but abstinence is an extraordinary act of Christian mortification and humiliation, and being rightly used hath those effects the other hath not: though neither meat, nor abstinence from meat, do simply commend us unto God; fasting being a thing not absolutely, and for itself, but only respectively to certain ends, to be judged good.

The third assertion of Jovinian was, that they which are baptized with water and the Holy Ghost are not subject to temptation nor sin. This is not only an error, but a damnable heresy, if it were so delivered by him as it is reported by Hierome. That which Calvin saith, that true faith which is found in them that are called according to purpose (as Augustine speaketh, following blessed Paul), cannot be wholly extinguished nor finally lost, is most true, but hath no agreement with that of Jovinian, that the regenerate is neither subject to temptation nor sin. For Calvin denieth not but that the elect and chosen servants of God may and do oftentimes fall very dangerously, but that such is the love of God towards them whom he hath called according to purpose, that he is always with them, to raise them up again if they fall: and that this is the difference between them and such as God hath not ordained unto life, that they fall into the hands of God, who suffers them not to be broken, or utterly to perish; whereas the hand of God, even his heavy hand, falleth upon the other, to crush and break them to pieces, as Hugo de Sancto Victore hath most excellently observed[1]. This therefore is but a calumniation like the rest, when Bellarmine doth charge Calvin with the heresy of Jovinian in this respect[2].

[1] De Sacramentis Fidei, lib. II. pars I. p. 13, in tractatu, An charitas semel habita amitti possit?

[2] [See Calvin, Instit. II. 2. § 11, 12.]

The fourth and last assertion of Jovinian is, that married persons, virgins, and widows, if they differ not in other works of virtue, and therein excel one another, are of equal merit. This assertion, howsoever it pleaseth Hierome to tax, I am well assured the best learned both of the fathers and schoolmen do approve. For, virginity, in that it addeth over and above the ordinary chastity and purity which ought to be found in married folks, though it be a kind of splendour and beauty of virtue, yet it is no virtue, nor degree of virtue, as Gerson proveth[1]. For that these married folks could not have all virtues; nay, because all virtues are connexed, not having this of virginity, they could have none. Besides that, no virtue is lost but by sin; whereas virginity may be lost by that which is no sin, as by the act of matrimony. All virtues in their times and places are commanded, and not left free and counselled only: but virginity is never imposed by precept, and therefore it is no virtue. Lastly, there is no virtue but, being lost, by repentance may be recovered again: but virginity being lost cannot be recovered again, therefore it is no virtue. These reasons are laid down by Gerson, whereby, in his judgment, it is most clearly proved, that virginity in that it addeth over and above ordinary chastity and purity is no virtue; and consequently that the bare and sole having of it, maketh not them that have it more acceptable unto God than others that have it not, unless they excel them in virtue. It is, then, a state of life

[1] Gerson, p. 3, De Consiliis Evangelicis et statu perfectionis, fol. 67. ["Ex quo sequitur quod virginitas secundum illud quod addit ultra continentiam, etsi sit quidam decor virtutis, non tamen est virtus nec gradus virtutis: alias conjugati non possent omnes virtutes habere; immo quia virtutes necessario connexæ sunt, nullam omnino virtutem haberent, quibus deesset virginitas. Secundo nulla virtus tollitur, nisi per peccatum; virginitas autem absque peccato perdi potest, ut in actu conjugali. Tertio omnes virtutes et actus eorum pro loco et tempore sunt in præcepto; virginitas autem nulli servanda præcipitur. Quarto omnis virtus perdita vel amissa per pœnitentiam potest reparari; sola virginitas perdita vel amissa nunquam reparatur." Opera, II. p. 676.] Occam, lib. III. q. 11, in sentent. ostendit, quomodo connexæ sunt omnes virtutes, non obstante apparenti repugnantia, et quomodo matrimonio juncti virtutem virginitatis habere dici possunt: "ad virginitatem (inquit) requiritur abstinentia carnis eo modo quo Deus vult talem abstinentiam esse, et similiter cum virginitate stat actus carnis eo modo quo Deus vult eam esse."

wherein, if all things be answerable in the parties that embrace it, there are fewer occasions of distractions from God, and more opportunities of attaining to the height of excellent virtue, than in the opposite estate of marriage; yet so, as that it is possible for some married men so to use that estate, that they may be no way inferior to any that are single. This doth Gregory Nazianzene most confidently and peremptorily defend, in his oration made in the praise of Gorgonia his sister[1]. "Our whole life," saith he, "is divided into two sorts or kinds, to wit, marriage and single life: whereof the one (that is single life), as it is more excellent and divine, so it is of more labour and peril; the other, as it is more mean, and of less esteem, so it is subject to less peril. Gorgonia avoiding the inconveniences of both estates, whatsoever she found in either of them behoofful, beneficial, and commodious, she took; and made the height of the excellent perfection of the one estate, and the safety and security of the other, to concur and meet together. She was chaste and undefiled, without scornful disdain; mixing the commodities of single life with marriage; and shewing by evident proof, that neither of those estates is in its own nature such, as that it should wholly join us to God or the world, or wholly divide and separate us from these, so that the one of these should be a thing altogether to be avoided, and the other to be desired; but, that it is the mind that doth rightly use both marriage and single life; and that either of these is as fit a matter for a skilful workman to work upon, and to bring forth the excellent work of virtue." And, in his oration in praise of Basil he saith: "There have been some found that living in the state of marriage have so carried themselves, as that they made it evident that marriage is no impediment or hinderance, but that therein men may attain to as great glory of virtue, as in virginity or single life. By which it may appear that marriage and virginity are rather diverse sorts and kinds of life, than differences and degrees of living better or worse[2]."

[1] [Orat. XI. § 9, p. 180, ed. Paris, 1609.]

[2] [*δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ μακαριστὸς τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν παρθένων ἀριθμὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν γάμῳ, μηδὲν τῇ συζυγίᾳ βλαβῆναι βιασαμένων πρὸς τὴν ἴσην τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐδοκίμησιν, ἀλλὰ βίων αἱρέσεις μᾶλλον, ἢ πολιτείας ταῦτα ποιησαμένων.* Orat. XX. § 18. p. 322.]

These sentences of Naziazen are very different from the inconsiderate speeches of Hierome that he is wont to use in comparing these two states of life together. For, who knoweth not, that he was so far in love with the one, and carried away with the admiration of it, in such sort, that he spake too basely of the other; and, indeed, otherwise than truth and reason would permit? If this be not so, let them that think otherwise tell me what they think of these sayings of his[1]. "Melius est nubere quam uri: si per se nuptiæ sunt bonæ noli illas incendio comparare, sed dic simpliciter, bonum est nubere. Suspecta est mihi omnis bonitas ejus rei, quam magnitudo alterius mali, malum esse cogit inferius. Ego autem non levius malum, sed simplex per se bonum volo. Si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum est ergo tangere: nihil enim bono contrarium est, nisi malum," &c. So then, as we do not approve any private opinion of Jovinian, contrary to the judgment of God's church; so, on the contrary side, we dare not approve these and the like rash and inconsiderate speeches of Hierome, being contrary to the truth of Scripture, and the judgment of the rest of the fathers, who are wont so to compare marriage and virginity, that the difference between them should be *bonum et melius;* both good, but the one better than the other; not *bonum et malum,* the one good and the other evil. For, so to think is to fall into the heresy of Marcion and Tatianus.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE HERESIES OF VIGILANTIUS.

THE next heresy that we are supposed to fall into, is that of Vigilantius. The opinions imputed to him by Hierome[2], and disliked, are these. The first, that the saints departed

[1] Contra Jovinianum [I. p. 152. ed. Ben.] His books against Jovinian were excepted against by those of the Church of Rome, whereupon he writeth an apology. "Certe constat Hieronymum hac de causa Romæ male audisse." Rhen. in arg. in lib. Tertul. de exhortatione ad castitatem.

[2] [In his treatise against Vigilantius.]

pray not for the living. The second, that they abide in some certain place, and are not everywhere. The third, that the vigils of the saints are not to be kept; nor their bodies, and the relics, and the ashes that remain of them, to be honoured, but despitefully trampled under feet. The fourth, that bishops are bound to marry, and may not be admitted unless they do first marry. The fifth, that it is better to give alms of our goods, according to that ability we have, and to retain a sufficiency to ourselves, than to sell away all, and give whatsoever we have at once to the poor. Two other assertions there are wherewith Bellarmine chargeth Vigilantius, to wit, the impugning of the invocation of saints; and, the condemning of the adoration of saints and their relics: thereby intending to make his reader believe that there was a controversy between Hierome and Vigilantius about these things; that Hierome did defend invocation of saints, whereof yet he speaketh not one word; and that he justified the adoration of saints and their relics, which, yet, in express words he disclaimeth and condemneth, saying, that "the Church honoureth them, but adoreth them not."

For the opinions wherewith Hierome chargeth him, this we briefly answer. First, if he absolutely denied that the saints departed do pray for us, as it seemeth he did by Hierome's reprehension, we think he erred. For we hold they do pray *in genere*. Touching the second, whether the saints do abide in some one place appointed for their rest, or be present everywhere, how peremptory soever Hierome be, we wish the reader to consider how doubtfully Augustine hath written of this matter in his book *De cura agenda pro mortuis;* and that Tertullian[1], Athanasius[2], and sundry other have resolutely delivered, that the souls of men departed do never return, nor intermeddle with the living any more.

[1] "Nulli autem animæ omnino inferos patere satis Dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis et divitis ingemiscentis ex persona Abrahamæ sanxit, non posse inde relegari renunciatorem dispositionis infernæ," &c. Tertul. De Anima. [c. 57.]

[2] "Athanasius aut quisquis auctor est quæstionum ad Antiochum, quæst. 11, 13, et Isidorus Etymolog. lib. VIII. c. 9, et Theophylact. in Matthei viii. prorsus negant unquam id fieri (sc. animas mortuorum viventibus unquam apparere) et cur fieri non conveniat multas rationes afferunt." Maldonatus in Lucæ xvi. 27, 28.]

Touching the third[1], which is the keeping of the vigils of the saints, we know they were long since, by the decree of a council, condemned and forbidden, and that the church of Rome doth not continue nor retain any such use or custom at this day. But, whereas he is said to have denied any honour to be given to the bodies of God's saints, and despitefully to have used them; if so he did, we cannot but as much condemn his impiety therein as Hierome did: neither do we suffer any with us to despite the blessed saints of God, to trample their bodies under feet, or cast them into the fire, as Bellarmine most falsely and unjustly accuseth us. But, this indeed we confess we have done, remembering the saying of Gregory and other of the fathers, affirming that neither the bodies of the saints[2], nor any parts of them ought to be brought into open view, or handled with the hands of men; and that the burying of them, and hiding them from the sight of men is a duty we owe unto them: we have caused relics which were wont superstitiously to be adored, and offered to be seen and handled of men, to be honourably buried. If any thing have been disorderly done in the confusions of war and popular tumults, they know our answer: we cannot excuse it, nor could not remedy it. Touching the fourth, we say that bishops neither are bound to marry, nor abstain from marriage. Touching the last, we say that Christian perfection standeth in this, that we set not our hearts upon riches, that we be not proud of them nor trust in them; that we be ready, if it be for God's glory or our own soul's good, to leave all. But for giving away all at once, or retaining to ourselves a sufficiency, neither the one nor the other is absolutely a matter of more perfection. For, sometimes, and for some men, it is better to keep and retain a sufficiency, and to give according to the proportion of their ability, than to give away all at once: and sometimes, for some men, upon some occasion, and in some state of things, it argueth more perfection, to give away, relinquish, and forsake all at once. Perfection therefore essentially consisteth not in riches or poverty, nor

[1] Vide supra, c. 9.

[2] "In Romanis vel totius Occidentis partibus omnino intolerabile est atque sacrilegum, si sanctorum corpora tangere quisquam fortasse voluerit." Et ibid. "quis presumat inspicere?" Lib. III. Indictione, 12. Epist. XXX.

in the refusing to have any property in any thing, as thereby expressing the state of things in the time of man's innocency; but in the affection of the mind, always ready to forsake all for the glory of God, the profession of the faith of Christ, and the attaining of eternal salvation. See to this purpose Gerson in his book *De Consiliis Evangelicis*, where he excellently handleth and cleareth this matter of Christian perfection.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE HERESY OF PELAGIUS TOUCHING ORIGINAL SIN; AND THE DIFFERENCE OF VENIAL AND MORTAL SINS.

THE fourteenth heresy we are charged with, is Pelagianism; which Bellarmine endeavoureth to fasten upon us three ways. First, because Zuinglius did sometimes seem to deny original sin, as did the Pelagians. Secondly, because Calvin and others teach, that the children of the faithful are holy by the right of their birth. Thirdly, because we say that all sins are by nature mortal[1].

To the first of these objections we say, there is no more reason to charge us with the private opinion of Zuinglius, which himself afterwards corrected, and none of his followers ever in the Helvetian church defended, than for us to charge them with the error of Pighius and Catharinus[2], who taught more peremptorily the same error that Zuinglius did, if not a worse and more dangerous. For, whereas he acknowledged most grievous evils to be found in the nature of man since Adam's fall, which no way could have been in the integrity of nature, though he will not call them by the name of sin; they hold that original sin is not subjectively and

[1] ["See Calvin's Institutes, II. 8, § 185; III. 4, § 28, on the difference of mortal and venial sins; to which Bellarmine refers." Ed. Brewer.]

[2] Bell. l. v. c. 15, De amissione gratiæ et statu peccati proponit et damnat errorem Pighii et Catharini. ["See Dr Jackson's observations on these opinions, in his treatise on the Creed, Vol. III. Bk. X. init.; Thorndike's Just Weights, p. 77; Baronius's Metaph. p. 237; as stated also with great clearness by Becanus, Summa, p. 196." Ed. Brewer.]

inherent in every of us, but that Adam's sin is imputed to us, and we punished for his offence; that all the evils the sons of Adam are subject to, are the conditions of nature, and consequently not newly brought in by Adam's sin: with sundry other erroneous conceits of the like nature.

Touching the second objection, that Bucer and Calvin deny original sin, though not generally, as did Zuinglius, yet at least in the children of the faithful: if he had said that these men affirm the earth doth move, and the heavens stand, he might have as soon justified it against them as this he now saith. For they most constantly defend the contrary of that he imputeth to them. But, saith he, they teach that the children of the faithful are born holy, or are holy by the right of their birth. O inconsiderate Jesuit! is this the ground of that vile and unjust imputation? Doth not Paul say so in express words, and wilt thou make him a Pelagian likewise[1]? But, saith he, Calvin and Bucer teach that the children of Christians by the right of their birth are comprehended in the covenant of grace, and so understand the holiness attributed to them: whence it will follow that they are born without original sin. To this we answer, that the children of believing parents may be understood to be comprehended in the covenants of mercy and grace, by the right of their birth, either as being already in the covenants by actual admission, in that they are born of such parents; or, for that in the covenant between God and their parents, their parents offering them unto God, and his admission of them and taking them to be his children upon such offer made, are covenanted and agreed upon. If Calvin and Bucer did teach that the children of the believing parents are already in the covenant by actual admission, in that they are born of such parents, it will follow that they were the children of grace by nature, and not of wrath, and consequently not born in sin. But they teach no such thing, but understand the comprehension in the covenants in the other sense; namely, that the offering of them unto God by their parents, and his acceptation of them upon such offer made, are covenanted and agreed upon in the covenants between God and their parents. Now then, as believing parents have good assurance that God will receive their children as his own children by adoption,

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 14.

and forgive them the sin they are born in, if they present and offer them to baptism, as they are bound by covenant to do as much as in them lieth; so if, by inevitable impossibility, they be hindered and cannot, they hope of God's goodness in this behalf, and are moved so to hope by sundry rules of equity whereof Gerson and divers others do speak[1], whom I hope Bellarmine will not pronounce to be Pelagian heretics.

The second thing wherein Bellarmine supposeth we agree with the Pelagians, is the denial of the difference or distinction of venial and mortal sins. That the Pelagians did expressly and directly deny this distinction of sins, there is no ancient writer that reporteth. Bellarmine therefore proveth it to be consequent upon that which they taught concerning the perfection of righteousness, supposed by them to be so full and absolute as not to admit any imperfection, or any the lightest sins to be where it remaineth. How good this consequence is, and how well he proveth that he intendeth, I refer to the judgment of the reader, and will not now examine. But whether the Pelagians were in an error touching the difference of sins, or no, I will make it clear and evident that we are not; for we do not deny the distinction of venial and mortal

[1] Gerson, III. part. Serm. de Nativitate Virginis Mariæ. [As in the following passage, among others: "Debent igitur mulieres prægnantes, similiter et viri sui per se et alios diligentius preces fundere Deo et ad sanctos angelos custodes hominum, etiam puerorum in utero; debent ad ceteros sanctos sanctasque omnes confugere, quatenus infans nondum natus, si forte moriturus est priusquam ad Baptismi gratiam pervenire valeat, dignetur ipsum Dominus Jesus summus Pontifex, baptismo Spiritus Sancti præveniendo misericorditer consecrare. Proficit hæc consideratio ad excitationem devotionis in parentibus, proficit ad leviandum eorum angustiam, dum sine baptismo decedit puer, quia non omnis inde spes ablata est. Sed neque absque revelatione datur, fateor, certitudo."—Opera, III. 3, p. 1350.]—Cajetanus in 3. Thomæ, quest. 9, alias 68, art. 2. ["The passage to which Field refers must, I think, be in Quæst. LXVII. art. 2, since Cajetan makes no remark on the article quoted in the text. There is some mistake both in this and the following reference, which I am not sure of having rightly corrected. On quæst. LXVII. art. 2, Cajetan makes this comment:—'Integer effectus baptismi claudit in se characterem. Et propterea licet gratia cum remissione totius culpæ et pœnæ possit sine baptismo suppleri, ut patet in latrone, character tamen suppleri non potest; et hoc loquendo de potentia ordinata sub divinæ dispositionis providentia.' See a Tract by Bishop Bramhall, on persons dying without baptism, published in his Works, p. 970, ed. fol." Ed. Brewer.]

sins, but do think that some sins are rightly said to be mortal, and some venial; not for that some are worthy of eternal punishment, and therefore named mortal; others of temporal only, and therefore judged venial, as the Papists imagine[1]: but for that some exclude grace out of that man in which they are found, and so leave him in a state wherein he hath nothing in himself that can or will procure him pardon; and others, which, though in themselves considered, and never remitted, they be worthy of eternal punishment, yet do not so far prevail as to banish grace, the fountain of remission of all misdoings.

All sins, then, in themselves considered, are mortal[2]; as Gerson doth excellently demonstrate. First, because every offence against God may justly be punished by him in the strictness of his righteous judgment with eternal death, yea with annihilation: which appeareth to be most true, for that there is no punishment so evil, and so much to be avoided, as the least sin that may be imagined; so that a man should rather choose eternal death, yea utter annihilation, than commit the least offence in the world. Secondly, the least offence that can be imagined remaining eternally in respect of the stain and guilt of it, though not in act, as do all sins un-

[1] Cajetan, in primam secundæ quæst. 87, art. 5. ["Nota distinctionem peccati tam venialis quam mortalis, ex genere et ex parte agentis. Et memento rationis ad secundum, q. 72, superius, art. 5; qua dictum est quod ex hoc quod veniale et mortale inveniuntur differre genere ex parte objecti, non tamen quod differentia venialis et mortalis sit specifica, id est constitutiva generis vel speciei subalternæ, sed quod consequantur distinctionem specificam seu generis in his."]

[2] De vita spirituali animæ, Lect. 1. ["Omne peccatum pro quanto est offensa Dei, et contra legem ejus æternam, est de sua conditione et indignitate mortiferum, secundum rigorem justitiæ et a vita gloriæ separativum. Ratio est quoniam omnis offensa in Deum potest juste ab ipso judice Deo puniri pœna mortis tam temporalis quam æternæ, immo annihilationis pœna; est igitur de se mortifera. Assumptum deducitur ex hoc quod nulla pœna talis est ita mala, quantum mala est ipsa offensa: et ex alio, quia potius toleranda esset omnis mors, quantumcumque pœnalis immo et annihilatio, quam committenda esset quamtumlibet parva offensa in Deum. Præterea quælibet offensa Dei nisi remitteretur, repelleret a gloria Dei, perpetuo et absque termino puniretur, alioquin maneret dedecus culpæ sine decore justitiæ; quod autem offensa dimittitur aut remittitur est ex pura liberalitate Dei remittentis et non amplius imputantis."—Opera, l. III. p. 9.]

remitted, must be punished eternally; for, else, there might some sinful disorder and ἀταξία remain not ordered by divine justice. But wheresoever is eternity of punishment, men are repelled from eternal life and happiness; and consequently, every offence that eternally remaineth not remitted, excludeth from eternal glory and happiness, and is rightly judged a mortal and deadly sin. All sins, then, are mortal in them that are strangers from the life of God, because they have dominion and full command of them; or are joined with such as have; and so leave no place for grace which might cry unto God for the remission of them. But the elect and chosen servants of God, called according to purpose, do carefully endeavour that no sins might have dominion over them; and therefore, notwithstanding any degree of sin they run into, they retain that grace which can and will procure pardon for all their offences.

Thus all sins, in themselves considered, and never repented of, forsaken, nor remitted, are mortal. All sins (that against the Holy Ghost excepted) are venial *ex eventu*, that is, such as may be, and oftentimes are, forgiven through the merciful goodness of God, though there be nothing in the parties offending, while they are in such state of sin, that either can or doth cry for remission. The sins of the just, not done with full consent, (and therefore not excluding grace, the property whereof is to procure the remission of sins), are said to be venial, because they are such, and of such nature, as leave place in that soul wherein they are, for grace that may and will procure pardon.

By that which hath been said, I hope it doth appear that we teach nothing touching the difference of venial and mortal sins, that Bellarmine himself can except against; and that we differ very much from the Pelagians, who thought that no sinful defect can stand with grace, or a state of acception and favour with God: for we reject this their conceit as impious and heretical, and do confess that all sins not done with full consent may stand with grace, and so be rightly named venial.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE HERESY OF NESTORIUS, FALSELY IMPUTED TO BEZA AND OTHERS.

THE next heresy it pleaseth this heretical Romanist to charge us with, is that of the Nestorians. Let us see how he endeavoureth to fasten this impiety upon us. First, saith he, the Nestorians contemned the Fathers: and so do the Protestants: therefore they are Nestorians. The consequence of this argument we will not now examine: but the minor proposition is most false; for we reverence and honour the Fathers much more than the Romanists do, who pervert, corrupt, and adulterate their writings, but dare not abide the trial of their doctrines by the indubitate writings of antiquity.

Secondly, saith he, the Nestorians affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ, and so divided the unity of his person: but the Protestants think so likewise: therefore they are Nestorians. The assumption we deny; and he doth not so much as endeavour to prove it, but proceedeth particularly to prove Beza a Nestorian heretic, in which he hath as ill success as he had in the rest of his slanderous imputations.

Beza, saith he, teacheth, that there are two hypostatical unions in Christ; ergo, two hypostases or persons; which was the heresy of Nestorius. The consequence of this argument is too weak to enforce the intended conclusion; for when Beza saith there are two hypostatical unions in Christ, the one of the body and soul, the other of the nature of God and man, he doth not conceive that the union of the body and soul do in Christ make a distinct human person or subsistence different from that of the Son of God; (for he everywhere confesseth that the human nature of Christ hath no subsistence but that of the Son of God communicated to it); but he therefore calleth it an hypostatical union[1], because

[1] "Deus dupliciter habet esse in creaturis; 1. per illapsum in omni natura; 2. in natura assumpta per circuminsessionem, et licet per illapsum Deus sit intimus omni creaturæ, intimior quam ipsa sibi aut forma materiæ,—tamen per circuminsessionem fit intimior naturæ assumptæ;—quia necesse est naturam assumptam amittere proprium

naturally it doth cause a finite and distinct human person or subsistence, and so would have done here, if the nature flowing out of this union had not been assumed by the Son of God, and so, prevented and stayed from subsisting in itself, and personally sustained in the person of the Son of God. This doctrine is so far from heresy, that he may justly be suspected of more than ordinary malice that will traduce it as heretical: yet hath Beza, to stop the mouths of such clamorous adversaries, long since corrected and altered this form of speech, which he had sometimes used.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF THE HERESY OF CERTAIN TOUCHING THE SACRAMENT; AND HOW OUR MEN DENY THAT TO BE THE BODY OF CHRIST THAT IS CARRIED ABOUT TO BE GAZED ON.

THE sixteenth heresy imputed to us, is the heresy of certain, who, what they were, the Jesuit knoweth not; nor what their heresy was, as it should seem by his doubtful and uncertain manner of speaking of it. This unknown heresy, defended by he knoweth not whom, he saith Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, and other worthy and renowned divines (with whom he is in no way matchable either in piety or learning, though he wear a cardinal's hat), do teach. But what monster of heresy is it that these men have broached? Surely, that Christ's body is not in the sacrament[1], or sacramental elements, but in reference to the use appointed by Almighty God; nor longer than the sacrament may serve for our instruction and the working of our spiritual union with Christ: and that, therefore, it is not the body of Christ that dogs, swine, and mice do eat, as the Romanists are wont

esse subsistentiæ, si quod ante assumptionem in ea fuit; vel si numquam ipsum habuit, subintrare esse subsistentiæ naturæ ad quam assumitur, ut sit idem suppositum subsistens in duplici natura." Picus, Apolog. c. 4. [p. 161, ed. Basil.]

[1] Hugo de Sancto Victore, De Sacram. Fidei, II. 8, c. 13; Bonavent. l. 4, dist. 13, art. 2, q. 1, 2.

to blaspheme; and that it is not fit to dispute, as their impious sophisters do, of the passage of it into the stomach, belly, and draught; of vomiting it up again, and resuming it when it is vomited; with infinite other like fooleries, which every modest man loatheth and shameth to hear mentioned. Secondly, that it is not the body of Christ which the Popish idolaters carry about in their pompous, solemn, and pontifical processions, to be gazed on and adored, to drive away devils, to still tempests, to stay the overflowing of waters, to quench and extinguish consuming and wasting fires: but that the body of Christ is present in and with the sanctified elements only in reference to the use appointed; that is, that men should be made partakers of it.

This participation, according to the ancient use, was, first and principally, in the public assembly: secondly, in the primitive church, the manner of many was, to receive the sacrament, and not to be partakers of it presently, but to carry it home with them and to receive it privately when they were disposed[1], as Tertullian and others do report: thirdly[2], the manner was to send it by the deacons to them that by sickness, or other necessary impediment, were forced to be absent, and to strangers[3]. Yea, for this purpose they did, in such places where they communicated not every day, reserve some parts of the sanctified elements to be sent to the sick, and such as were in danger of death.

This reservation was not generally observed[4], as may appear by the canon of Clemens prescribing that so much only should be provided for the outward matter of the sacraments as might suffice the communicants, and that if any thing remained, it should presently be received by the

[1] De corona militis; lib. II. ad uxorem.—Hieron. adversus Jovin. quare non ingrediuntur, Ecclesias, &c. Rhenanus annotat. in lib. de corona militis.

[2] Justinus Martyr, Apol. I. p. 98, prope finem.

[3] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 23.

[4] "Non tamdiu servabatur, ut nunc; nam sequitur in canone de septimo in septimum diem semper mutetur, et alia eadem die consecrata in locum ejus subrogetur. At vetustissimus canon Clementis, apud Burchardum, vetat Eucharistiam asservari. Hodie mucidas particulas comedere coguntur sacerdotes quas olim vetustas igne consumpsit." Rhenanus in annot. in Tertul. De corona militis, p. 338.

clergy; neither could there be any place for, or use of reservation, where there was a daily communion, as in many places there was; nor, in any place, for such reservation as is used in the church of Rome for weeks and months; seeing there was generally in ancient times in all places twice a-week, or at least once every week, a communion, from whence they might be supplied that were absent.

The Romanists consecrate every day, but make their reservations from some solemn time of communicating, as Easter, or the like; and this not only, or principally, for the purpose of communicating any in the mysteries of the Lord's body and blood, but for circumgestation, ostentation, and adoration, to which end the fathers never used it; neither is that, which is thus unto this purpose reserved, the body of Christ, as our divines do most truly pronounce. The manner of the primitive church was, as Rhenanus testifieth, if any parts of the consecrated elements remained so long as to be musty and unfit for use, to consume them with fire, which I think they would not have done to the body of Christ. This sheweth they thought the sanctified elements to be Christ's body no longer than they might serve for the comfortable instruction of the faithful by partaking in them. But the Romanists at this day, as the same Rhenanus fitly observeth, would think it a great and horrible impiety to do that which the fathers then prescribed and practised.

So, then, Calvin doth think that the Romish reservation doth not carry about with it the body of Christ, as the Papists foolishly fancy; and yet I hope is in no heresy at all. Neither doth he any where say, that the elements consecrated and reserved for a time, in reference to an ensuing receiving of them, are not the body of Christ: but saith only, that there were long since great abuses in reservation, and greater in that every one was permitted to take the sacrament at the hand of the public minister in the church, and carry it home with him; which I think this Cardinal will not deny, if he advisedly bethink himself.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF THE HERESY OF EUTICHES, FALSELY IMPUTED TO THE DIVINES OF GERMANY.

THE next heresy imputed unto us, is Eutichianism, which is directly opposite, and contrary to the former error of Nestorius. This he charged first upon Zuinckfeldius, whom we reject as a frantic and seduced miscreant, and do in no manner acknowledge him to be a member of our churches: secondly, upon Brentius, Jacobus Smidelinus, and other learned divines of the German churches.

The heresy of Eutiches was, that as before, so after the incarnation, there was but one only nature in Christ, for that the nature of God was turned into man; that there was a confusion of these natures. Do any of the German divines teach this blasphemous doctrine? No, saith Bellarmine, not directly and in precise terms, but indirectly and by consequence they do. If we demand of him what that is which they teach whence this impiety may by necessary consequence be inferred, he answereth, the ubiquitary presence of the body and human nature of Christ; for, saith he, ubiquity being an incommunicable property of God, it cannot be communicated to the human nature of Christ without confusion of the divine and human natures. But he should remember that they, whom he thus odiously traduceth, are not so ignorant as to think that the body of Christ, which is a finite and limited nature, is everywhere, by actual position or local extension, but personally only, in respect of the conjunction and union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is nowhere severed from God, who is everywhere.

This is it, then, which they teach, that the body of Christ doth remain in nature and essence finite, limited, and bounded, and is locally in one place; but that there is no place where it is not united personally unto that God that is everywhere; in which sense they think it may truly be said to be everywhere. For the better clearing of this point, we must remember that it is agreed upon by all Catholic divines, that the human nature of Christ hath two kinds of being, the one natural, the other personal; the first limited and finite, the second infinite and incomprehensible. For seeing the nature

of man is a created nature and essence, it cannot but be finite[1]; and seeing it hath no personal subsistence of its own, but that of the Son of God communicated to it, which is infinite and without limitation, it cannot be denied to have an infinite subsistence, and to subsist in an incomprehensible and unlimited sort, and consequently everywhere. Thus, then, the body of Christ, *secundum esse naturale*, is contained in one place; but *secundum esse personale*, may rightly be said to be everywhere.

It were easy to reconcile all those assertions of our divines touching this part of Christian faith, in shew so opposite one to another; and to stop the mouths of our prattling adversaries, who so greedily seek out our verbal and seeming differences (whereas their whole doctrine is nothing else but a heap of uncertainties and contrarieties), if this were a fit place: but let this briefly suffice for the repelling of Bellarmine's calumniation, and let us proceed to examine the rest of the objections.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF THE SUPPOSED HERESY OF ZENAIAS PERSA, IMPUGNING THE ADORATION OF IMAGES.

THE next heresy he imputeth unto us, is the impugning of the adoration and worshipping of images; the first author of which impiety, as this impious idolater is pleased to name it, was Zenaias Persa, as Nicephorus reports. But whatsoever the Jesuit think, Nicephorus's credit is not so good that upon his bare word we should believe so shameless a lie; for Augustine, which was before the Persian (in his book, *De moribus Ecclesiæ*, I. 34), hath the same heresy, as it pleaseth these heretics to call it:—"Nolite, inquit, consectari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsa vera religione superstitiosi sunt. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores, quos mores Ecclesia condemnat, et quotidie

[1] "Uniri hypostatice Deum et hominem, nihil est aliud quam naturam humanam non habere propriam subsistentiam, sed assumptam esse a Verbo æterno, ad ipsam Verbi subsistentiam." Bellarm. De Incarn. lib. III. c. 8.

corrigere studet." And Gregory[1], after the time of this supposed Persian, doth condemn the adoration of images; and the Council of Frankfort likewise, after his time, as appeareth by Hincmarus and others[2].

Besides, if Nicephorus follow the judgment of the fathers of the second Nicene Council, he meaneth nothing else by that adoration of images, which he approveth, but the embracing, kissing, and reverent using of them, like to the honour we do the books of holy Scripture, not that religious worship which consisteth in spirit and truth, which the Papists yield to their idols: and so there is as great difference of judgment between him and Bellarmine, as between him and us.

That which Bellarmine addeth, against Calvin and others[3], touching the time that images were first brought into the church, if this place did require the examination of it, we should find him as notable a trifler therein as in all the rest.

[1] Gregorius Sereno Massiliensi lib. IX. Ep. 9. "Frangi non debuit quod non ad adorandum in Ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum."

[2] "Auctores antiqui omnes conveniunt in hoc, quod in Concilio Francofordiensi sit reprobata Synodus VII. quæ decreverat imagines adorandas; ita Hincmarus, Aimoinus, Rhegino, Ado, et alii." Bellarm. lib. II. De sanctorum imaginibus, c. 14.

[3] "Quis adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum, qui non sic afficitur, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet?—itaque homines talibus superstitionibus obligati, plerumque ad ipsum solem dorsum ponentes preces fundunt statuæ, quam solem vocant; et cum sonitu maris a tergo feriantur, Neptuni statuam quam pro ipso mari colunt, quasi sentientem gemitibus feriunt. Hoc enim facit, et quodammodo extorquet illa figura membrorum, &c. Hoc venerantur quod ipsi ex auro et argento fecerunt; sed enim et nos pleraque instrumenta et vasa ex hujusmodi materia habemus in usum celebrandorum sacramentorum, &c., et sunt profecto ista instrumenta, vel vasa, quid aliud quam opera manuum hominum? Veruntamen numquid os habent, et non loquentur,—num quid iis supplicamus quia per ea supplicamus Deo? Illa maxime causa impietatis insanæ, quod plus valet in affectibus miserorum viventi similis forma, quæ sibi efficit supplicari, quam quod eam manifestum est, non esse viventem, ut debeat a vivente contemni." Augustinus in Psalmum, 113, § 5, 6.—Vide Walafridum Strabonem, De rebus Ecclesiasticis, Imaginibus, &c.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE ERROR OF THE LAMPETIANS, TOUCHING VOWS.

THE error of the Lampetians was, as Alphonsus à Castro supposeth, that it is not lawful for men to vow, and by vowing to lay a necessity upon themselves of doing of those things, which, freely and without any such tie, might much better be performed[1].

If they dislike simply all vowing, we do not approve their opinion, as may appear by that which Kemnicius, Zanchius, and others, have written to this purpose; and therefore we are unjustly said to favour their error. That which Bellarmine addeth for the strengthening of this his unjust imputation, is a mere calumniation; for Luther doth not say that a man should vow to do a thing as long as he shall be pleased, and then to be free again when he shall dislike that which before he resolved, but that all vows should be made with limitation, to be so far performed[2] as human frailty will permit; and that it is better, after a vow made, to break it, and to descend to the doing of that which is lawful and good, though not carrying so great show of perfection as that which by vow was promised, than under the pretence of keeping it, to live in all dissolute wickedness, as the manner of the popish votary is[3]: whereupon the fathers are clear, that marriage after a vow made of single life is lawful, and that it is better to marry than continuing single to live lewdly and wantonly.

[1] [Adversus Hær. *Votum.*]

[2] The Romanists admit dispensations wholly discharging from vows and commutations, whereby men are taught it sufficeth to perform some other things instead of that they vowed.

[3] "Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est nubant quam in ignem delictis suis cadant." Cypr. lib. I. Epist. 11. [= als. 4.] Epiphanius, hæresi 61. Ostendit melius esse post votum jungi matrimonio et acta pœnitentia recipi in Ecclesiam, quam quotidie telis occultis vulnerari. [§ vii. *κρεῖττον πεσόντα ἀπὸ δρόμου φανερῶς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον, καὶ ἀπὸ παρθενίας πολλῷ χρόνῳ μετανοήσαντα εἰσαχθῆναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς κακῶς ἐργασάμενον, ὡς παραπεσόντα καὶ κλασθέντα καὶ χρείαν ἔχοντα ἐπιδέματος, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν βέλεσι κρυφίοις κατατιτρώσκεσθαι καὶ πονηρίας ὑπὸ διαβόλου αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένης.*]

Augustine, though he do mislike them that vow, and perform not, yet he reproveth them also that think marriages after vows to be void, and to be dissolved. De bono viduitatis. [cap. ix.]

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF THE HERESY OF CERTAIN, TOUCHING THE VERITY OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST COMMUNICATED TO US IN THE SACRAMENT.

THE last heresy might well have been omitted, for these heretics condemned by Theodoret, Ignatius[1], and others, denied the verity of Christ's human nature, and thereupon condemneth the sacrament of his body and blood. So that it was not the imputing of popish transubstantiation, as Bellarmine idly fancieth, that was reproved in them, but the denying of the truth of that body and blood, which all true Christians do know to be mystically communicated to them in the sacrament, to their unspeakable comfort. How then can we be charged with the heresy of these men, seeing we neither deny the verity of Christ's human nature, nor make the sacrament to be a naked figure or similitude only, but acknowledge that it consisteth of two things, the one earthly, and the other heavenly; and that the body of Christ is truly present in the sacrament and communicated to us, though neither capernaitically torn with the teeth, nor popishly to be swallowed and carried down into the stomach and belly?

Thus then we see how fondly this Cardinal heretic hath endeavoured to prove us heretics, and to hold the old condemned heresies of those cursed arch-heretics whose frenzies we condemn much more than he and his fellows do; so that he is so far from demonstrating either our consent with condemned heretics that were of old, or their consent with the ancient fathers, and consequently the antiquity of their

[1] [Quoted by Theodoret in his Dialogue, entitled] Impatibilis. Mirum est, Bellarminum hanc hæresin tam antiquam putare, cum Alphonsus a Castro hæresi IV. [lib. VI. 625] de Eucharistia, dicat, omnes qui hujus perversi dogmatis mentionem fecerunt asserere fuisse Berengarii inventionem. [The words of Bellarmine follow:—"Quorundam qui negabant Eucharistiam vere esse carnem Christi et tantum esse volebant figuram seu imaginem corporis Christi. Ita refertur in VII. Synodo, art. VI. tom. III. [Harduini Concil. IV. 359 et 367], et longe antea ex Ignatio idem refert Theodoretus in Dialogo qui dicitur Impatibilis." Brewer's Ed.]

profession, that, contrarily, all that are not blinded with partiality, may easily see that the whole course of Popish doctrine is nothing but a confused mixture of errors, and all that they write against us nothing but mere calumniation and slander.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF SUCCESSION; AND THE EXCEPTIONS OF THE ADVERSARIES AGAINST US IN RESPECT OF THE SUPPOSED WANT OF IT.

THUS, then, having taken a view of whatsoever they can or do allege for proof of the antiquity of their doctrine, which is the first note of the church assigned by them, let us come unto the second, which is Succession, and see if they have any better success in it than in the former[1]. In what sense Succession may be granted to be a note of the true church, I have shewed already: let us therefore see how and what our adversaries conclude from thence against us, or for themselves.

By this note, say they, it is easy to prove that the reformed churches are not the true churches of God. *Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotem*[2], saith Hierome against the Luciferians. It can be no church that hath no ministry: and Cyprian to the same purpose pronounceth, that the church is nothing else but *Plebs episcopo adunata*[3]. Thus, therefore, from these authorities they reason[4], where there is no ministry there is no church: but amongst the Protestants there is no ministry: therefore no church. The minor proposition, or assumption, of this argument we deny: which they endeavour to prove in this sort: there is no lawful calling to the work of the ministry amongst the Protestants: therefore no ministry. The defects they sup-

[1] Bellar. De Notis Ecclesiæ, IV. c. 8, not. 5.
[2] Contra Luciferianos. [p. 302.]
[3] Lib. IV. Ep. 10. [als. 69.]
[4] [Bellarm. ib.]

pose to be in the calling of our bishops and ministers are twofold: first, for that they that ordained them, in the beginning of this alteration of things in the state of the church, had no power so to do. Secondly, for that no man may be ordained but into a void place, either wherein there never was any pastor or bishop before, as in churches in their first foundation; or, wherein there having been, their place is now void, by the death, deprivation, or voluntary relinquishment of them that possessed it before, that so they who are newly elected and ordained may succeed into the void rooms of such as went before them, and not intrude upon their charge, whereunto they are still justly entitled: our bishops and pastors were ordained and placed, in the beginning of the reformation of religion, where there were bishops already in actual possession. These being the defects which they suppose to be in the calling of our bishops and ministers, let us see how they prove that they say.

That they, who ordained our ministers in the beginning of the alteration of religion, had no power so to do, thus they prove. No bishop may be esteemed and taken as lawfully ordained, unless he be ordained of three bishops at the least; and they, such as have been ordained in like sort; and so ascending till we come to the first, whom the apostles did constitute by their apostolic authority received immediately from Christ the Son of God, whom the Father sent into the world: but the pastors and bishops of the reformed Churches had no such ordination: therefore they wanted that calling which should make them lawful bishops and pastors.

It is true, that the ancient canons regularly admit no ordination as lawful, wherein three bishops at the least do not concur. But Bellarmine and his fellows do not think this number of bishops imposing hands to be absolutely and essentially necessary[1]; for they confess, that by dispensation, growing out of due and just consideration of the present occasions and state of things, one bishop alone may ordain, assisted with abbots, which are but presbyters, and no bishops;

[1] Bellarm. De Notis Ecclesiæ, IV. c. 8, not. 5. ["Itaque dubium esse non potest, quin requirantur ordinarie tres ad minimum episcopi, ad novi episcopi ordinationem, nisi forte ex dispensatione cum uno episcopo ordinante adsint abbates infulati, qui vicem episcoporum ferant, ut aliquando fieri solet ob episcoporum raritatem."]

nay, which by the course of their profession, and original of their order, are less interested in the government of the Church, than the meanest presbyter having the care of souls. "Monachus non doctoris habet officium sed plangentis." "A monk is a mourner; he is no teacher in the Church of God[1]." The Romanists thinking therefore that, in some cases, the ordination which is made by one bishop alone, assisted with presbyters, is lawful and good, cannot generally except against the ordination of the bishops and pastors of all the Reformed Churches. For in England, Denmark, and some other places, they which had been bishops in the former corrupt state of the Church, did ordain bishops and ministers, though perhaps precisely three did not always concur in every particular ordination.

But they will say, whatsoever may be thought of these places wherein bishops did ordain, yet in many other none but presbyters did impose hands; all which ordinations are clearly void; and so, by consequent, many of the pretended reformed Churches, as, namely, those of France and others, have no ministry at all. The next thing therefore to be examined is, whether the power of ordination be so essentially annexed to the order of bishops, that none but bishops may in any case ordain. For the clearing whereof we must observe, that the whole ecclesiastical power is aptly divided into the power of order and jurisdiction. "Ordo est rerum parium dispariumque unicuique sua loca tribuens congrua dispositio." That is, "Order is an apt disposing of things, whereof some are greater, and some lesser, some better, and some meaner, sorting them accordingly into their several ranks and places." First, therefore, Order doth signify that

[1] Hier. contra Vigilantium, non procul a fine, [p. 288] et ad Heliodorum, [Epist. I. alias v. p. 10.] "Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves; ego pascor: illi de altario vivunt; mihi quasi infructuosæ arbori securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad altare non defero." Lindan. Panop. lib. IV. c. 75. "Omnes monachi erant ordinis laici, ita una cum reliquis templi choro erant exclusi."

Hugo, Erudit. Theol. de Sacr. Fid. lib. II. part. 3, cap. 4. "Ut intrinsecus quietius vivant, ordines ministerii divini, per indulgentiam monachis conceduntur; non ad exercendam prælationem in populo Dei, sed ad celebrandam intrinsecus communionem sacramenti Dei, quod tamen in principio non ita fuisse dicunt. Monachi quippe et eremum habitantes olim presbyteros habuisse dicuntur."

mutual reference or relation that things sorted into their several ranks and places have between themselves: secondly, that standing which each thing obtaineth, in that it is better or worse, greater or lesser than another, and so accordingly sorted and placed above or below other, in the orderly disposition of things. The power of holy or ecclesiastical order, is nothing else but that power which is specially given to men sanctified and set apart from others, to perform certain sacred supernatural and eminent actions, which others of another rank may not at all, or, not ordinarily, meddle with: as, to preach the word, administer the sacraments, and the like.

The next kind of ecclesiastical power is, that of jurisdiction. For the more distinct and full understanding whereof we must note, that three things are implied in the calling of ecclesiastical ministers. First, an election, choice, or designment of persons fit for so high and excellent employment. Secondly, the consecrating of them, and giving them power and authority to intermeddle with things pertaining to the service of God, to perform eminent acts of gracious efficacy and admirable force, tending to the procuring of the eternal good of the sons of men, and to yield unto them whom Christ hath redeemed with his most precious blood, all the comfortable means, assurances, and helps that may set forward their eternal salvation. Thirdly, the assigning and dividing out to each man, thus sanctified to so excellent a work, that portion of God's people which he is to take care of, who must be directed by him in things that pertain to the hope of eternal salvation. This particular assignation giveth to them, that had only the power of order before, the power of jurisdiction also, over the persons of men.

Thus, then, it is necessary that the people of God be sorted into several portions, and the sheep of Christ divided into several flocks, for the more orderly guiding of them, and yielding to them the means, assurances, and helps that may set them forward in the way of eternal life; and that several men be severally and specially assigned, to take the care and oversight of several flocks and portions of God's people. The apostles of Christ and their successors[1], when

[1] Whereupon to ordain presbyters city by city, and church by church, is all one. Acts xiv. 23; Titus i. 5. "Euaristus, ut Damasus

they planted the Churches, so divided the people of God converted by their ministry, into particular Churches, that each city and the places near adjoining did make but one Church. Now, because the unity and peace of each particular Church of God, and flock of his sheep, dependeth on the unity of the pastor, and yet the necessities of the many duties that are to be performed in Churches of so large extent, require more ecclesiastical ministers than one; therefore, though they be many presbyters, that is, many fatherly guides of one Church, yet there is one amongst the rest, that is specially pastor of the place, who for distinction sake, is named a bishop; to whom an eminent and peerless power is given[1], for the avoiding of schisms and factions; and the rest are but assistants and coadjutors, and named by the general name of Presbyters. So that, in the performance of the acts of ecclesiastical ministry, when he is present and will do them himself, they must give place: and, in his absence[2], or when being present he needeth assistance, they may do nothing without his consent and liking. Yea, so far for order sake is he preferred before the rest, that some things are specially reserved to him only, as the ordaining of such as should assist him in the work of his ministry[3];

ait, titulos in urbe Romana presbyteris divisit." Platina in vita Euaristi.

[1] Hier. Contra Luciferianos. ["Ecclesiæ solus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter, neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi. Quod frequenter, si tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere laicis." p. 295.]

[2] As Christ doth nothing without his Father, so do you nothing without the bishop, whether you be presbyter, deacon, or layman. Ignat. ad Magnesios, [§ 8]; idem habet in Epist. ad Smyrnenses, [§ 9]. Tertullian, De Baptismo. [c. xvii.] "The right to give baptism hath the bishop, then the presbyters and deacons, but not without the bishop's authority, for the honour of the Church." [See Thorndike's Rights of the Church.] Concil. Arelat. I. can. 19. "Presbyteri sine conscientia episcopi nihil faciunt." [This canon is not found in the late editions of this council. It is however but right to state that the readings of the MSS. differ very considerably. Brewer's Ed.]

[3] Epiphanius, Heresis, LXXV. [ἡ μὲν γάρ [sc. ἐπισκόπων] ἐστι πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις· πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾷν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκ-

the reconciling of penitents[1]; confirmation of such as were baptized[2], by imposition of hands; dedication of churches; and such like.

These being the divers sorts and kinds of ecclesiastical power, it will easily appear to all them that enter into the due consideration thereof, that the power of ecclesiastical or sacred order, that is, the power and authority to intermeddle with things pertaining to the service of God, and to perform eminent acts of gracious efficacy, tending to the procuring of the eternal good of the sons of men, is equal and the same in all those whom we call presbyters, that is, fatherly guides of God's Church and people: and that, only for order sake, and the preservation of peace, there is a limitation of the use and exercise of the same. Hereunto agree all the best learned amongst the Romanists themselves[3], freely confessing that that wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter, is not a

κλησίᾳ, οὐ μὴν πατέρας ἢ διδασκάλους. καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτερον καθιστᾶν, μὴ ἔχοντα χειροθεσίαν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν; ἢ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἴσον τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ; § 4.] Concilium Anciranum, can. 13. [als. 20. "De his qui usurpant sibi quod soli debeant episcopos ordinare, placuit ut nullus hoc sibi præsumat nisi assumptis secum aliis septem episcopis."] Hieron. Epist. 85, [101,] ad Euagrium [Evangelum, p. 802]: "Quid facit excepta ordinatione episcopus quod presbyter non facit?"

[1] Concil. Carth. II. can. 4. [Can. 3. "Chrismatis confectio et puellarum consecratio a presbyteris non fiant; vel reconciliare quemquam in publica missa presbyterio non licere, hoc omnibus placet." Can. 4. "Si quisquam in periculo fuerit constitutus et se reconciliari divinis altaribus petierit, si episcopus absens fuerit, debet utique presbyter consulere episcopum, et sic periclitantem ejus præcepto reconciliare."] Carth. III. can. 31, 32, 158. [Can. 31. "Ut pœnitentibus secundum peccatorum differentiam episcopi arbitrio pœnitentiæ tempore decernantur." Can. 32. "Ut presbyter inconsulto episcopo non reconciliet pœnitentem, nisi absente episcopo et necessitate cogente."]

[2] Hieron. contra Luciferianos. [p. 295.] "Ad honorem sacerdotii fit, ut soli episcopi manus imponant."

[3] Thomas III. p. in addit. q. 40, art. 5. Bonavent. lib. IV. dist. 24, art. 2, q. 3. ["Episcopatus proprie non est ordo, sed ordinis eminentia vel dignitas; nec in eo novus character imprimitur."] Dominicus a Soto, lib. X. De justitia et jure, q. 1, art. 2, et in 4 dist. 24, q. 2, art. 3. Armachanus, lib. XI., ostendit nullum prælatum plus habere de potestate sacramentali sive ordinis, quam simplices sacerdotes. Cameracensis in 4, quæst. 4. Contarenus de Sacramentis, IV. [381.]

distinct aud higher order, or power of order, but a kind of dignity and office or employment only. Which they prove, because a presbyter ordained *per saltum*, that never was consecrated or ordained deacon, may, notwithstanding, do all those acts that pertain to the deacon's order, because the higher order doth always imply in it the lower and inferior, in an eminent and excellent sort: but a bishop ordained *per saltum*, that never had the ordination of a presbyter, can neither consecrate and administer the sacrament of the Lord's body; nor ordain a presbyter, himself being none; nor do any act peculiarly pertaining to presbyters. Whereby it is most evident, that that wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter, is not a distinct power of order, but an eminence and dignity only, specially yielded to one above all the rest of the same rank, for order sake, and to preserve the unity and peace of the Church. Hence it followeth, that many things which in some cases presbyters may lawfully do are peculiarly reserved unto bishops, as Hierome noteth: "Potius ad honorem sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem[1];" "Rather for the honour of their ministry, than the necessity of any law." And therefore we read[2], that presbyters in some places, and at some times, did impose hands, and confirm such as were baptized: which when Gregory, Bishop of Rome, would wholly have forbidden, there was so great exception taken to him for it, that he left it free again. And who knoweth not, that all presbyters in cases of necessity may absolve and reconcile penitents[3]; a thing in ordinary course appropriated unto bishops? And why not, by the same reason, ordain presbyters and deacons in cases of like necessity? For, seeing the cause why they are forbidden to do these acts is, because to bishops ordinarily the care of all Churches is committed, and to them, in all reason, the ordination of such as must serve in the Church pertaineth, that have the chief care of the Church, and have Churches wherein to employ them; which only bishops have, as long as they retain their standing, and not presbyters, being but assistants to bishops in

[1] Contra Luciferianos, [p. 295].

[2] "Pervenit ad nos quosdam scandalizatos fuisse quod presbyteros Chrismate tangere in fronte eos qui baptizati sunt prohibuimus," etc. Greg. Januario Episcopo. lib. III. Indict. 12, Epist. 26.

[3] Carth. III. can. 32. [as quoted above.]

their Churches. If they become enemies to God and true religion, in case of such necessity as the care and government of the Church is devolved to the presbyters remaining Catholic and being of a better spirit, so the duty of ordaining such as are to assist or succeed them in the work of the ministry pertains to them likewise. For if the power of order and authority to intermeddle in things pertaining to God's service be the same in all presbyters, and that they be limited in the execution of it only for order sake, so that in case of necessity every of them may baptize and confirm them whom they have baptized, absolve and reconcile penitents, and do all those other acts which regularly are appropriated unto the bishop alone; there is no reason to be given, but that in case of necessity, wherein all bishops were extinguished by death, or, being fallen into heresy, should refuse to ordain any to serve God in his true worship, but that presbyters, as they may do all other acts, whatsoever special challenge bishops in ordinary course make upon them, might do this also. Who, then, dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were ordained by presbyters, in sundry Churches of the world, at such times as bishops, in those parts where they lived, opposed themselves against the truth of God, and persecuted such as professed it? Surely the best learned in the Church of Rome in former times durst not pronounce all ordinations of this nature to be void. For, not only Armachanus[1], a very learned and worthy bishop, but, as it appeareth by Alexander of Hales, many learned men in his time and before, were of opinion, that, in some cases and in some times, presbyters may give orders, and that their ordinations are of force, though to do so, not being urged by extreme necessity, cannot be excused from over great boldness and presumption. Neither should it seem so strange to our adversaries, that the power of ordination

[1] "Videtur quod si omnes episcopi essent defuncti, sacerdotes minores possent episcopos ordinare. Armachanus, lib. XI. in q. Armenorum, cap. 7.

Alex. de Hales, part IV. q. 9, memb. 5, art. 1. [I have not been able to find this passage in Hales. But the reader will find the authority from the ancient Canonists to the same effect; in Morinus de Ordinationibus, p. iii. p. 48, and in Van Espen, I. 499, ed. 1753. Brewer's Ed.] Dicunt quidam quod ex demandatione papæ ordinatus potest conferre ordinem quem habet.

should at some times be yielded unto presbyters, seeing their chorepiscopi, suffragans, or titular bishops, that live in the diocese and Churches of other bishops, and are no bishops according to the old course of discipline, do daily, in the Romish Church, both confirm children and give orders.

All that may be alleged out of the fathers, for proof of the contrary, may be reduced to two heads. For first, whereas they make all such ordinations void as are made by presbyters, it is to be understood according to the strictness of the canons in use in their time, and not absolutely in the nature of the thing; which appears, in that they likewise make all ordinations *sine titulo* to be void; all ordinations of bishops[1] ordained by fewer than three bishops with the metropolitan; all ordinations of presbyters by bishops out of their own Churches, without special leave[2]: whereas I am well assured, the Romanists will not pronounce any of these to be void, though the parties so doing are not excusable from all fault. Secondly, their sayings are to be understood regularly; not without exception of some special cases that may fall out.

Thus, then, we see that objection which our adversaries took to be unanswerable, is abundantly answered out of the grounds of their own schoolmen, the opinion of many singularly learned amongst them, and their own daily practice in that chorepiscopi or suffragans, as they call them, being not bishops[3], but only presbyters, whatsoever they pretend,

[1] Synodus Chalced. can. 6. [*μηδένα δὲ ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι μήτε πρεσβύτερον μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὅλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι, εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ ὁ χειροτόνουμενος ἐπικηρύττοιτο. τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονουμένους ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν.*]

[2] "Episcopus præter judicium metropolitani et finitimorum episcoporum non ordinandus." Concil. Laodicen. can. 12. "Si episcopus ab omnibus episcopis qui sunt in provincia aliqua urgente necessitate non ordinatur, certe tres episcopi debent in unum esse congregati, ita ut etiam cæterorum qui absentes sunt consensum literis teneant." Concil. Nic. can. 4.

[3] Concil. Antiochenum, can. 13. [*μηδένα ἐπίσκοπον τολμᾶν ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβαίνειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν τινας εἰς προαγωγὴν λειτουργίας; μηδὲ εἰ συνεπάγοιτο ἑαυτῷ ἑτέρους, εἰ μὴ παρακληθεὶς ἀφίκοιτο διὰ γραμμάτων τοῦ τε μητροπολίτου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων, ὧν εἰς τὴν χώραν παρέρχοιτο· εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς καλοῦντος ἀπέλθοι ἀτάκτως ἐπὶ χειροθεσίᾳ τινῶν καὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων μὴ προσηκόντων αὐτῷ, ἄκυρα μὲν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα τυγχάνειν.*]

and forbidden by all old canons to meddle in ordination, yet do daily, with good allowance of the Roman Church, ordain presbyters and deacons; confirm (with imposition of hands) those that are baptized; and do all other episcopal acts; while their great bishops lord it like princes, in all temporal ease and worldly bravery.

The next thing they object against us is, that our first ministers, what authority soever they had that ordained them, yet had no lawful ordination, because they were not ordained and placed in void places, but intruded into Churches that had lawful bishops at the time of those pretended ordinations; and, consequently, did not succeed, but encroach upon other men's right. To this we answer, that the Church is left void, either by the death, resignation, deprivation, or the people's desertion and forsaking of him that did precede. In some places, our first bishops and pastors found the Churches void by death; in some, by voluntary relinquishment; in some, by deprivation; and in some, by desertion, in that the people, or at least that part of the people that adhered to the Catholic verity, who have power to choose their pastor, to admit the worthy, and refuse the unworthy, did forsake the former that were wolves and not pastors, and submitted themselves to those of a better spirit. Of the three first kinds of voidance there can be no question; of this fourth there may: and, therefore, I will prove it by sufficient authority and strength of reason.

Cyprian, Cecilius, Polycarpus, and other bishops, writing to the clergy and people of the Churches in Spain, whereof Basilides and Martialis were bishops, who fell in time of persecution, denied the faith, and defiled themselves with idolatry, persuade them to separate themselves from those bishops, assuring them that the people being holy, religious, fearing God, and obeying his laws, may and ought to separate themselves from impious and wicked bishops, and not to communicate with them in the matters of God's service: "Quando ipsa plebs maxime habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi[1];" that is, "Seeing the

[1] Concil. Anciranum, can. 13. [*χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.*] De-

people hath authority to choose the worthy, and to refuse the unworthy." And Occam, to the same purpose, saith in this sort: "Si papa et maxime celebres episcopi incidant in hæresin, ad Catholicos devoluta est potestas omnis judicandi[1];" "If the pope and the principal bishops of the Christian world do fall into heresy, the power of all ecclesiastical judgment is devolved to the inferior clergy, and people, remaining Catholic." This opinion of Cyprian and the rest, if our adversaries shall dislike or except against, may easily be confirmed by demonstration of reason. For if it do fall out, that the bishops and a great part of the people fall into error, heresy, and superstition, I think our adversaries will not deny but that the rest are bound to maintain and uphold the ancient verity; who being not so many nor so mighty as to be able to eject those wicked ones by a formal course of judicial proceeding, what other thing is there left unto them, but either to consent to their impieties, which they may not do, or to separate themselves, which is the thing our adversaries except against in the people of our time. Now, having separated themselves from their former supposed and pretended pastors, what remaineth but that they make choice of new to be ordained and set over them; if not by the concurrence of such and so many as the strictness of the canon doth ordinarily require to concur in ordinations, yet by such as, in cases of necessity, by all rules of equity are warranted to perform the same.

cretum Johannis, III. Ep. ad Germaniæ episcopos. [Considered by Baronius to be apocryphal. an. 572, n. 4. Brewer's Ed.]

[*τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἢ ταῖς χώραις ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους, εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ, καθιστᾶν δὲ ἀναγνώστας καὶ ὑποδιακόνους καὶ ἐφορκιστὰς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρχεῖσθαι προαγωγῇ, μήτε πρεσβύτερον μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου ᾗ ὑπόκεινται αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ χώρα.*]

[1] Part I. lib. v. c. 28. The words of Ockam are, ["Si omnes prælati et clerici mundi pravitate inficerentur hæretica potestas judicandi omnis devolveretur ad Catholicos laicos et fideles." f. xlvii. 6.]

CHAPTER XL.

OF SUCCESSION, AND THE PROOF OF THE TRUTH OF THEIR DOCTRINE BY IT.

THUS having examined the allegation of the papists, endeavouring to prove against us, that we have not the true Church amongst us, because (as they falsely suppose) we lack the visible succession of pastors and bishops, let us see what they can conclude from this note of succession for themselves. In this part Bellarmine sheweth himself to be a notable trifler[1]. For first he saith, that if there be no Church

[1] De Notis Ecclesiæ, cap. 8. ["Quinta nota est successio episcoporum in Romana Ecclesia ab apostolis deducta usque ad nos; hinc enim dicitur apostolica. Ac propterea omnes veteres hac successione tanquam argumento evidentissimo usi sunt ad veram Ecclesiam ostendendam. Irenæus (III. 3) enumerat episcopos Romanos a Petro usque ad Eleutherium qui suo tempore sedebat.—Si ergo veteres tanti fecerunt ad veram Ecclesiam ostendendam continuationem xii. vel xx. aut xl. pontificum, quanti nos facere debemus continuationem non interruptam pontificum cc. et amplius.—Sed ut vis hujus argumenti melius intelligatur, aliqua notanda sunt. Primum est non posse ullo modo Ecclesiam esse sine pastoribus et episcopis, ut recte docet Cyprianus.—Ex quo sequitur eam non esse veram Ecclesiam quæ aut nullos aut non veros habet pastores. Nota secundo, illos solos in Ecclesia semper habitos fuisse veros episcopos qui ab apostolis per legitimam successionem et ordinationem descendisse ostendebantur.

"Ex quo argumentum insolubile sumitur hoc modo. Ecclesia non potest esse sine episcopis ut ostendimus. Apud Lutheranos non sunt episcopi; nam non habent ordinationem nec successionem ab apostolis, igitur apud eos non est Ecclesia.

3°. Objicit Calvinus (Instit. IV. 2, § 2.) cur non enumeremus etiam successiones episcoporum Africæ, Ægypti et totius Asiæ; et respondet ipsemet nobis insultans, quia periit ibi sacrosancta ista successio. Respondeo vel Calvinus ex eo quod periit successio in illis locis vult concludere non esse Ecclesiam, vel esse Ecclesiam; si primum pro nobis facit; nam si ibi non est Ecclesia, quia ibi non est successio, ergo hic est Ecclesia quia hic est successio.

"4°. Objicit idem Calvinus; in Ecclesia Græca adhuc servatur successio non interrupta episcoporum, et tamen non est illa vera Ecclesia, secundum opinionem nostram, non igitur successio est nota veræ Ecclesiæ.

"Respondeo primum non posse ostendi in Ecclesia Græca certam successionem.

"Dico secundo, argumentum a successione legitima afferri a nobis

where there is no succession, then where there is succession continued, the true Church doth remain still. Secondly, being pressed with the example of the Grecians, amongst whom a continual succession of bishops hath ever been found, he answereth, that succession doth not prove affirmatively that to be the true Church where it is found, but negatively, that not to be the true Church where it is wanting: contrary to himself, who requireth in the notes of the Church (amongst which he reckoneth succession to be one of the principal) that they be not only inseparable, without which the true Church cannot be but proper also, and such as cannot be found in any other society, but that which is the true Church of God. Thirdly, again forgetting himself, he maketh succession proper to the true Church, and such a note as may prove all those societies of Christians true Churches which have it; and disliketh Calvin, for saying that more is required to find out the true Church than personal succession; and that the fathers did not demonstrate the Church barely by personal succession, but by shewing that they that succeeded held the faith of those that went before them. Thus he sheweth plainly that he knoweth not what he writeth.

This matter of succession Stapleton hath much more aptly delivered than Bellarmine[1], confessing, that not bare personal succession, but lawful succession, is a note of the true Church; and defineth that to be lawful succession, when not only the later succeed into the void rooms of those that went before them, being lawfully called thereunto, but also hold the faith their predecessors did. In this sort the fathers were wont to reason from succession, in the controversies of religion[2].

præcipue ad probandum non esse Ecclesiam, ubi non est hæc successio, quod quidem evidens est: ex quo tamen non colligitur necessario, ibi esse Ecclesiam, ubi est successio."]

[1] Staplet. Contro. de Ecclesia in se, Questione IV. art. 2, expositione articuli, notabili, v. ["Etsi pastores deserere possunt veram doctrinam, non tamen propterea successionis vel filum abrumpi, vel notam infirmari aut incertam reddi. Non enim quævis sed legitima et vera successio est Ecclesiæ nota. Est autem illorum pastorum legitima successio qui cum suis antecessoribus, a quibus ordinati sunt unitatem tenent, et a fide in qua ordinati sunt, postea non recedunt." Opera, I. p. 564.]

[2] Irenæus, lib. IV. cap. 43=26. Illis presbyteris obediendum esse dicit, "qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis acceperunt [certum secundum placitum patris."]

First, they reckoned up the successions of bishops from the apostles' times; and then shewed that none of them taught any such thing as was then called in question, but the contrary; and consequently, that the apostles delivered no such thing, but the contrary.

To Bellarmine's disjunction, that either the fathers made it appear to Catholics or to heretics that the succeeding bishops held the same faith the former did, we answer, they made it appear to both: for so doth Irenæus prove the tradition of the apostles to be for him[1], and against the heretics he refuteth, because he can number all the bishops in the principal Churches from the apostles' times downward, none of which ever taught any such thing as those heretics dreamed, but the contrary. That which Bellarmine addeth, that if it had appeared to heretics, that the true faith had been kept by succeeding bishops, they would have yielded to it, is as little to the purpose as the rest. For, we do not say it did appear unto them they held the truth, but that they held the same faith their predecessors held. Now, though the fathers made this appear unto them, yet they feared not to oppose themselves, as the same Irenæus witnesseth[2], affirm-

Tertul. De præscrip. præter ordinem episcoporum ab initio decurrentem requirit consanguinitatem doctrinæ. ["Edant ergo hæretici origines Ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem.—Sed etsi confinxerint nihil promovebunt. Ipsa enim doctrina eorum cum apostolica comparata ex diversitate et contrarietate sua pronuntiabit, neque apostolica alicujus auctoris esse neque apostolici.—Nam Ecclesiæ in eadem fide conspirantes non minus apostolicæ deputentur pro consanguinitate doctrinæ." § 32.]

Aug. Epist. CLXV. [=LIII. § 2,] enumeratis episcopis Romanis: "In hoc (inquit) ordine successionis nullus invenitur Donatista."

[1] Irenæus, lib. III. cap. 3.

[2] Lib. III. cap. 2. ["Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia varie sint dictæ et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his qui nesciant traditionem; non enim per literas traditam illam sed per vivam vocem.—Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successionem presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur provocamus eos, adversantur traditioni dicentes se non solum presbyteris sed etiam apostolis existentes sapientiores sinceram invenisse veritatem, apostolos enim admiscuisse ea quæ sunt legalia Salvatoris verbis.—Evenit itaque neque Scripturis jam neque traditioni consentire eos."]

ing, that when it was proved against the heretics of those times, that in the succession of bishops, those that succeeded held the same faith that the former did, without any alteration, and consequently the apostles' doctrine was still continued in their Churches; they thought themselves wiser than the apostles themselves, affirming that they mingled the law and the gospel together, taking exceptions of ignorance and imperfection against them and their doctrine.

Thus, then, we see the fathers did not reason barely from personal succession, but by shewing affirmatively the faith they defended to have been received by all those bishops, whose succession they urged against their adversaries; and negatively, by proving that none of them ever believed any such things as their adversaries dreamed. If the Romanists will dispute against us in this sort, and demonstrate that the fathers successively held those opinions they do, and that none of them were of that judgment in matter of faith that we are of, we will most willingly listen unto them. But this they do not, and therefore their talking of the fathers' reasoning from succession, when they dare not reason as the fathers did, is most vain and idle.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF UNITY, THE KINDS OF IT, AND THAT COMMUNION WITH THE ROMAN BISHOPS IS NOT ALWAYS A NOTE OF TRUE AND CATHOLIC PROFESSION.

THE next note of the Church assigned by them is unity[1]. The unity of the Church consisteth principally in three things. First, in observing and holding the rule of faith once delivered to the saints. Secondly, in the subjection of the people to their pastors: and thirdly, in the due connexion of many pastors, and the flocks depending on them, among

[1] Bellar. De Notis Ecclesiæ, lib. IV. cap. 10, not. 7. ["Præcipua unitas corporis consistit in conjunctione membrorum cum capite et inter se.—Videmus omnes illas Ecclesias quæ ab isto capite se diviserunt tanquam ramos præcisos a radice continuo aruisse.—Jam ex hac nota clarissimum est nostram Ecclesiam solam esse veram."]

themselves. All these kinds and sorts of unity we think necessarily required in some degree, in all those societies of Christians, that will demonstrate themselves to be the true Churches of God; and deny not, but that unity in this sort expressed and conceived, is a most apt note of the true Church.

The papists suppose, that besides these kinds and sorts of unity before expressed, there is also required another kind of unity to the being of the Church, namely, subjection to, and union with, that visible head, which, as they think, Christ hath left in his stead to govern the whole body of the Church, and to rule both pastors and people. This head, as they suppose, is the bishop of Rome, from whose communion sith we are fallen, they infer, that we are divided from the unity of the true Church.

This last kind of unity[1], devised by the papists, we deny to be necessarily required to the being of the true Church. First, therefore, let us see what may be said for or against the necessity of this kind of unity; and, in the next place, consider, what our adversaries can conclude for themselves, or against us, from that kind of unity which we acknowledge to be necessarily required to the being of the true Church.

If the union of all Christians with this supposed visible head, which is the bishop of Rome, were necessarily required as a perpetual duty, then was there no true Church in the time of the antipopes[2], when the wisest knew not who were the true popes, and who were usurpers. If they shall reply,

[1] Dicunt quidam "quod hic est fidei articulus; Benedictus est papa (exempli gratia)—quod absque eo non stat salus, cum tamen salus Ecclesiæ in solum Deum ordinetur absolute et essentialiter et in hominem Christum de ordinata lege, sed accidentaliter ordinatur in papam mortalem: alioquin cum vacat sedes per mortem papæ, vel naturalem vel civilem utputa si sit hæreticus depositus, quis hominum salvus esset?" Gers. pars 1, De pace, Tom. II. 70. Idem, par. 4, Serm. de Angelis, III. 1479. Papam agnoscere de necessitate salutis esse "ambigunt nonnulli, sufficere dicentes ut verum Ecclesiæ caput Christus agnoscatur."

[2] Gerson, De modo habendi se tempore schismatis. ["In schismate præsenti tam dubio, temerarium, injuriosum et scandalosum est asserere omnes tenentes istam partem vel alteram, vel omnes neutrales etiam absolutos, esse universaliter extra statum salutis vel excommunicatos, vel rationabiliter de schismate suspectos." Tom. II. p. 4.]

that it is necessary to hold communion, with the true if he may be known; this hath no more warrant of reason than the former, seeing the best learned amongst themselves think that, not only the pope, but also the whole clergy and people of Rome may err, and fall into damnable heresies: in which case, it is the part of every true Christian to disclaim all communion with them, and to oppose himself against them, and all their heretical impieties. That it is possible for the pope to err[1], and become an heretic, so many great divines in the Church of Rome have at all times most constantly defended, that the greatest patrons of the infallibility of the pope's judgment at this day, are forced to confess it is not necessary to believe that the pope cannot err, but that it is only a matter of probable dispute.

Thus, then, it is evident to all that will not wilfully oppose themselves against the truth, that consent with the Roman bishop cannot be made a perpetual and sure note of the true Church. Nay, the Grecians most constantly affirm, that the pope, taking all to himself, and challenging to be head of the universal Church, hath been the cause of the Church's division. But, because Bellarmine is so excellent a sophister, that he is able to prove anything to be true, though never so false and absurd: let us see how he proveth that consent with the bishop of Rome is a note of the true Church, in such sort, that whosoever holdeth communion with him, is a Catholic; and, contrarily, whosoever forsaketh his communion, is an heretic or schismatic.

This he endeavoureth to make good by the testimonies of sundry of the ancient fathers, wrested against their known meanings, and undoubted resolutions, in other parts of their works and writings. His first allegation is out of Irenæus, in his third book and third chapter, against heresies. But, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the occasion of the words cited by Bellarmine, we shall easily see they prove no such thing as he laboureth to enforce. For Irenæus in that place sheweth how all heresies may be refuted, by opposing against them the tradition of the apostles, which, he saith, we may easily find out and discern how contrary it is to the frantic conceits of heretics, by taking a view of them which were ordained bishops by the apostles in the Churches

[1] See cap. 7.

of Christ, and their successors to this present time, which never taught nor knew any such thing as these men dream. Now, because it would be tedious to reckon all the succession of bishops succeeding one another in every Church, therefore he produceth the succession of the bishops in the Roman Church, instead of all; because, that being the most famous and renowned Church of the world, constituted and founded by the two most principal and glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, whatsoever was successively taught and received in that Church, and, consequently delivered unto it by those blessed apostles, must needs be the doctrine and tradition of the rest of the apostles, delivered to all other Churches of the world. For, what was there hidden from these apostles that was revealed unto any of the rest; and what would they hide from this principal Church that was any way necessary to be known? Therefore, saith Irenæus, the producing of the Roman succession is instead of all. For it must needs be that what this most principal Church received from these great apostles, that, and nothing else, the others did receive from their apostles and first preachers, which he expresseth in these words: "Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse est omne convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles[1]." Bellarmine's sense of these words (that all Churches must frame them-

[1] [iii. § 3. "Traditionem itaque apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre, et habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in Ecclesiis et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent apostoli, quæ seorsim et latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant.

"Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones: maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sibi placentia, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam."]

selves to believe what the Church of Rome believeth, and prescribeth to others to be believed), no way standeth with the drift of Irenæus in this place, as may appear by that which hath been said; and, therefore, this allegation might have been spared.

His next authorities are out of Cyprian's Epistles[1]: in the first of which epistles we shall find that there were certain schismatics that fled from their own lawful bishop and superiors with complaints to other bishops and Churches, and, amongst the rest, to the Church and bishop of Rome; not knowing, saith Cyprian, or at least, not considering, that the Romans are such as will not give entertainment to such perfidious companions, nor listen to lying and false reports; for that is the meaning of those words, "Ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum." But Bellarmine wresteth the words to another sense, to wit, that infidelity and error in faith can never find place among the Romans, as being secured from all possibility and danger of erring. So that that which St Cyprian speaketh of perfidious dealing, that he interpreteth of infidelity and error of faith; so good construction the Jesuit is wont to make of the words of the fathers. But let this suffice for the clearing of the first place alleged out of Cyprian[2], and let us proceed to the second[3], the circumstances whereof are as followeth. Cornelius was elected and ordained bishop of Rome; a schism grew in that Church about this his election. Cyprian, though he approved the election of Cornelius, yet did forbear to write unto him as bishop, till others also might be satisfied

[1] Lib. I. Ep. 3. ["Navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram atque ad Ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis litteras ferre, nec cogitare eos esse Romanos quorum fides, apostolo prædicante, laudata est; ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum." Epist. LV. § 19.]

[2] But he will say, Cyprian calleth the Roman Church the principal Church, whence sacerdotal unity hath her spring: hereunto we answer, that the Roman Church, not in power of overruling all, but in order, is the first and principal: and that therefore while she continueth to hold the truth, and encroacheth not upon the right of other Churches, she is to have the priority: but that in either of these cases she may be forsaken, without breach of that unity, which is essentially required in the parts of the Church.

[3] Cyprian, lib. IV. Epist. 2=iv.

touching the validity of the same; at which Cornelius seemed to be grieved. Cyprian sheweth him the reasons that moved him to do as he did, and withal how, carefully to avoid all scandals, he wished all that went to Rome to hold the root of the true Catholic Church, which was on Cornelius's part, and not to be carried away with the faction of schismatics, who opposed themselves against their lawful bishop, and brake the unity of the Church. How this will prove that all Christian men and Churches must perpetually hold communion with the Roman Church, and that this is a note of the true Church, I see not. There was a division in the Roman Church about the election of Cornelius: Cornelius, in Cyprian's judgment, was rightly chosen, and so the root and ground of the true Church was with him, and his true partakers, and not with his adversaries, that factiously and schismatically opposed themselves against him; Cyprian wisheth all men to adhere unto their lawful bishop, and not to the faction of schismatics, rent from the root of the true Church's unity. Therefore, say our adversaries, all Churches must for ever hold communion, upon peril of damnation, with the Church of Rome. How weak this consequence is, he is very weak in understanding that doth not see. But howsoever, surely Cyprian is very unadvisedly alleged to this purpose, who peremptorily standeth upon it, that every bishop ought to have his liberty of judgment, (as being accountable only unto God), and that no bishop should make himself judge of another[1]: who dissenteth from Stephen, bishop of Rome, and feareth not to challenge him for pertinacy; yea, so hot was the contention between Cyprian and Stephen, that Cyprian's consorts feared not to charge him with heresy, and favouring of heretics[2]. So far were the bishops of those times from prostrating themselves at the pope's feet, and thinking it their duty to submit themselves, upon pain of damnation, to all his determinations, as his vassals are everywhere now taught to do.

The next allegation is out of Ambrose, who, in his funeral oration made upon the death of Satyrus his brother, report-

[1] Lib. II. Ep. 1, [alias, LXXII.]

[2] Firmilianus Cypriano, Epist. LXXV. ["Non pudet Stephanum talibus adversus Ecclesiam patrocinium præstare et propter hæreticos asserendos fraternitatem scindere."]

eth of him that, being desirous to be partaker of the holy mysteries, yet, before he would proceed in an action of that consequence, he called to him the bishop of the place, and asked of him if he held communion with the Catholic bishops; and, because he should not mistake him, whether he held communion with the bishop of Rome, who, at that time, both in the truth of the thing, and in the opinion of Satyrus, was Catholic, and best known both to him and the bishop of whose faith he inquired. This was done in the time of the schism of the Luciferians, as appeareth by the place of Ambrose[1]. Now what consequence is this? Satyrus asked of the bishop, of whom he was to receive the holy mysteries, whether he held communion with the Catholic Church; and, to avoid all ambiguity, expressed what he meant, by asking him whether he agreed with the Roman Church, which, at that time, in his opinion, held the true profession: therefore, the Roman Church can never err. As if I, being in France or Germany, meeting with some Christians of whose faith I doubt, should demand of them, whether they hold the true Catholic religion, and add, for explication of the meaning of my question, whether they hold the profession of the reformed Churches in England and Scotland, which, at this time, I think to be the true Churches of God. Doth it follow that I think these Churches can never err, or fall from the sincerity of the Christian profession; or that, for ever it must be a note of the sincere professors of the Christian faith, to hold communion with these Churches, howsoever they degenerate? The same answer serveth for the places alleged out of Hierome, Optatus, and Augustine; and particularly touching Hierome[2], who knoweth not that he affirmeth directly, that Liberius, the bishop of Rome, fell into heresy, and disliketh the customs of the Roman Church[3];

[1] ["Advocavit ad se episcopum, nec ullam veram putavit nisi veræ fidei gratiam, percontatusque ex eo utrumnam cum episcopis Catholicis, hoc est, cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret? Et forte ad id locorum in schismate regionis illius Ecclesia erat: Lucifer enim se a nostra tunc temporis communione diviserat." 1, § 47.]

[2] In Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiast. ["In hoc habetur (Fortunatianus) detestabilis, quod Liberium Romanæ urbis episcopum, pro fide ad exilium pergentem, primus sollicitavit, ac fregit et ad subscriptionem hæreseos compulit." Tom. IV. 1. p. 124.]

[3] Hier. Evagrio. ["Nec altera Romanæ urbis Ecclesia, altera

and will not have that see and the bishops of it to give laws to all Christendom; saying, "orbis major est urbe:" and that though he say here[1] that Peter's chair is the rock the Church is builded upon, yet, against Jovinian[2], he professeth that "super omnes ex æquo Ecclesiæ fortitudo, solidatur:"— "the Church is equally founded upon all the apostles." And in another place, a bishop, whether of Rome or of Eugubium, is "ejusdem meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii," "equal in merit and office[3]," howsoever riches and the honour of places seem to make some difference. Hierome was a man of a violent spirit, and wrote many things that must have a favourable construction to make them accord with that which elsewhere he hath delivered. Touching Leo[4], who saith that "that which Christ meant should pertain to the office of all the apostles, was principally yielded to Peter, and from him, as from an head, derived to the rest," [it] must be understood only

totius orbis existimanda est.—Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli—ejusdem meriti ejusdem est et sacerdotii.—Cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt." p. 803.]

[1] Epist. ad Damasum de nomine Hypostasis. ["Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, cathedræ Petri communione consocior, super illam petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio." p. 19.]

[2] Lib. I. Contra Jovinianum, p. 168. ["At dicis super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant; et ex æquo super eos Ecclesia fortitudo solidetur; tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio."]

[3] Hierom. Evagrio. [Quoted above.]

[4] Epist. LXXXIX. [alias IX.] ad Episcopos Viennensis provinciæ. ["Divinæ cultum religionis quem in omnes gentes, omnesque nationes Dei voluit gratia commeare, ita Dominus noster Jesus Christus humani generis salvator instituit, ut veritas, quæ antea legis et prophetarum præconio continebatur, per apostolicam tubam in salutem necessitatis exiret.—Sed hujus muneris sacramentum ita Dominus ad omnium apostolorum officium pertinere voluit, ut in beatissimo Petro apostolo omnium summo principaliter collocaverit; et ab ipso quasi quodam capite, dona sua velit in corpus omne manare: ut exsortem se mysterii intelligeret esse divini, qui ausus fuisset a Petri soliditate recedere. Hunc enim in consortium individuæ unitatis assumptum, id quod ipse erat voluit nominari dicendo: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam;* ut æterni templi ædificatio, mirabili munere gratiæ Dei in Petri soliditate consisteret.]

of a principality of order; and that he, first in time, received the promise of that which was meant to all, to express the unity that must be in all. For, otherwise, it neither standeth with the truth nor the judgment of the fathers, that the apostles received their office and authority by derivation from Peter, or held it in a subordination under him; seeing they were all called and continued immediately by Christ himself, without any dependence on Peter, or receiving anything from him; as is easy to demonstrate out of Cyprian, and the consent of the most ancient fathers. But, because these authorities are too weak to prove the thing intended, therefore, from these, Bellarmine fleeth to experience, from whence he thinketh he may fetch a better proof.

All Churches of the world, saith he, that ever divided themselves from the fellowship of the Roman Church, like boughs broken from a tree, and deprived of the nourishment they formerly received from the root, did presently wither away and decay. The falsehood of this saying of Bellarmine is too apparent: for the Churches of Greece, Armenia, Ethiopia, and Syria, continued a long time after they had forsaken the communion of the Roman Church; yea, many of them continue to this day, holding a more sound and sincere profession of Christian verity than the Romanists do. It is true, indeed, that many of the famous Churches of the world have been swallowed up of Mahometanism and barbarism: but, to attribute that their fall to their separation from the Church of Rome, is upon as good ground as to attribute the cause of Goodwin-sands to Tenterden steeple. That which he addeth, that none of the Churches divided from Rome had ever any learned men after their separation, sheweth plainly that his impudency is greater than his learning. For, what will he say of Œcumenius, Theophylactus, Damascenus, Zonaras, Cedrenus, Elias Cretensis, Nilus, Carbasilas, and innumerable more, living in the Greek Churches, after their separation from the Church of Rome? Surely, these were more than matchable with the greatest Rabbins of the Romish synagogue: but, saith he, they could never hold any council since their separation. If he mean general, it is not to be marvelled at, seeing they are but a part of the Christian Church: if national or provincial, it is most childish, and, by sundry instances to be reproved.

CHAPTER XLII.

THAT NOTHING CAN BE CONCLUDED FOR THEM OR AGAINST US FROM THE NOTE OF UNITY OR DIVISION OPPOSITE UNTO IT.

THUS having cleared that which Bellarmine objecteth, to prove that subjection to, and unity with, the bishop of Rome, is implied in that unity which is required to the being of the Church; let us come to the other part, and see whether anything may be concluded from that unity which we confess to be required to the being of the true Church, either against us or for them. First, therefore, the Jesuit reasoneth against us in this sort:—all they that are of the true Church must hold the unity of the faith once delivered to the saints: but there are sundry heretics erring damnably in matters of faith, as Zuinkfeldians, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and the like, gone out of the reformed Churches: therefore, they are not the true Churches of God.

If this kind of reasoning were good, he might prove that those Churches wherein the apostles lived were not the Churches of God, because, out of them proceeded sundry heretics, as Hymenæus[1], Philetus, Nicolaus[2], Simon Magus[3], and the like. But, says he, there be two differences between the apostolic Churches and the reformed Churches, in this respect: the first, that the doctrine of the reformed Churches, itself, and of its own nature, breedeth dissension: the second, that, when there is difference grown, they have no rule, by direction whereof to make an end of controversies. But the divisions that grow from the Catholic Church proceed merely from the malice of Satan, and have no foundation in the doctrine of it: and, if any difference do arise, it hath a means to end all controversies by, which is, the determination of a council, or the chief pastor. Both these differences we deny: for, neither doth our doctrine of itself breed dissension and diversity of opinions, neither are we without means of composing controversies, if they arise. If Bellarmine will prove that our doctrine, of itself breedeth division, he must shew that the grounds and principles of it are uncertain, and such as may occasion error, contrariety, and uncertainty of judgment; which he neither doth nor can do: for, the ground of

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 17. [2] Rev. ii. 6. [3] Acts viii. 18.

all our doctrine is the written Word of God, interpreted according to the rule of faith, the practice of the saints from the beginning, the conference of places, and all light of direction that either the knowledge of tongues, or any part of good learning may yield. This, surely, is the rule to end all controversies by, and not the authority of a council, or the chief pastor, as Bellarmine fondly imagineth. For[1], they both must follow the direction of this rule in all their determinations. Whereupon the Book of God[2], and monuments of antiquity were always wont to be brought into the councils, whereby the fathers might examine all matters controversed, or any way doubted of. Now, as we want not a most certain rule, whereby to judge of all matters of controversy and difference, so in examining things by the direction of this rule, we require that Christian moderation in all men that ever was found in the servants of God; that no man presume of his own wisdom, judgment and understanding, nor hastily pronounce before conference with others: for "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets: and God is the God of order, and not of confusion[3]." It is, therefore, a vile calumniation of Bellarmine, when he saith that with us every one preferreth himself before others, and every one taketh on him peremptory judgment of an other. For, contrariwise, we teach all men to submit their private opinions to the examination of others; the meaner to respect those of greater place and quality, the fewer the more; and those men which pertinaciously contradict the doctrine agreed upon by consent of all that are in authority, or the greater part, we reject from the communion of our Churches: and so, with us, an end is made of all controversies.

The rule, then, with us is most certain and infallible, known to all; to wit, the Scripture, or the written word of God, expounded according to the rule of faith, practice of the saints, and the due comparing of one part of it with another,

[1] Nec movere quemquam debet quod talem concordem professionem patrum præposui decreto generalis concilii, etiamsi de toto orbe existentes convenirent Episcopi: quin imo in tractatibus fidei huic post Scripturas tota conciliorum inquisitio se conformabit ut regulæ. Waldens. doctrinal. fidei, lib. II. art. 2, cap. 19. § 8.

[2] Cusanus de Concordantia Catholica, lib. II. cap. 6.

[3] 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33.

in the public confessions of faith published by the Churches of our communion. In all which there is a full consent, whatsoever our malicious adversaries clamorously pretend to the contrary: and all those that stubbornly resist against this rule, or anything therein contained, and refuse to be ordered by it, we reject as factious and seditious schismatics. Thus do we disclaim all Anabaptists, Familists, Zuinkfeldians, Trinitarians, and all other sectaries whatsoever. But, saith Bellarmine, how is it then that there are so many divisions, not only from your Churches, but also in your Churches, and amongst them that you take for your brethren, and men of your own communion, as Lutherans, Calvinists, Flaccians, Melancthonists, Hosiandrines, and the like? To this we answer, that this diversity is to be imputed wholly to our adversaries. For, when there was a reformation to be made of abuses and disorders in matters of practice, and manifold corruptions in very many parts of Christian doctrine; and in a council by general consent it could not be hoped for (as Gerson[1] long before out of his own experience saw and professed), by reason of the prevailing faction of the pope's flatterers; but this was necessary to be essayed severally, in the particular kingdoms of the world: it was not possible but that some diversity should grow, while one knew not, nor expected to know, what another did. Yet it so fell out, by the happy providence of God, and force of that main truth they all sought to advance, that there was no material or essential difference amongst them, but such as, upon equal scanning, will be found rather to consist in the divers manner of expressing one thing, and to be but verbal upon mistaking, through the hasty and inconsiderate humours of some men, than anything else. Yea, I dare confidently pronounce, that, after due and full examination of each other's meaning[2], there shall be no difference found touching the matter of the sacrament, the ubiquitary presence, or the like, between the Churches reformed by Luther's ministry in Germany and other places, and those whom some men's malice called Sacramentaries: that none of the differences between Melancthon

[1] P. III. Dialogus Apologeticus; judicium de concilio Constantiensi. [II. p. 386.]

[2] See chap. 35.

and Illyricus[1], except about certain ceremonies, were real: that Hosiander held no private opinion of justification, howsoever his strange manner of speaking gave occasion to many so to think and conceive. And this shall be justified against the proudest papist of them all.

But, saith Bellarmine, your Churches are so torn and rent with dangerous divisions, that not only one of you dissenteth from another, but the same man, oftentimes, from himself: and herein giveth instance in Luther, whose judgment varied in divers things of great consequence. Touching Luther, we answer, that he was a most worthy divine, as the world had any in those times wherein he lived, or in many ages before; and that for the clearing of sundry points of greatest moment in our Christian profession, much obscured and entangled before, with the intricate disputes of the schoolmen, and Romish sophisters (as of the power of nature, of free will, grace, justification, the difference of the Law and the Gospel, faith and works, Christian liberty, and the like), all succeeding ages shall ever be bound to honour his happy memory. In all these things he was ever constant; yea, all these things he perfectly apprehended, and, to the great joy of many men's hearts, delivered both by word and writing, before he departed from the Romish synagogue; and out of these, and more diligent search of the Scripture and fathers than was usual in those times, by degrees saw and descried those popish errors, which at first he discerned not.

[1] That which Illyricus said, touching original sin, which he affirmed to be an essential corruption, was not so meant, as if sin were a positive thing, or an essence and substance; as many did conceive: for he acknowledged that sin is formally nothing but a want of rectitude, and an aberration: but as we call that action sin, wherein defect and want of rectitude is found, so likewise he feared not to call the essential powers of the soul, averse from God, and disordered in their motions and inclination, by the name of original sin, because they are originally sinful. Smidelinus cleareth Hosiander, shewing that his opinion was, that by the active and passive righteousness of Christ, performed in his human nature, as by causes meritorious, we find favour with God, and have communion with him, and are made partakers of his essential righteousness; not transfusing it into us, or confounding it with us (as many mistook him), but by such a kind of participation as that is wherein all creatures partake of God's divine perfections; and that so partaking of his righteousness, we may do that is right in his sight.

That herein he proceeded by degrees, and in his later writings disliked that which in his former he did approve, is not so strange a thing as our adversaries would make it seem to be. Did not Augustine (the greatest of all the fathers, and worthiest divine the Church of God ever had since the apostles' time), write a whole book of Retractations? Do we not carefully observe what things he wrote, when he was but a presbyter, and what, when he was made a bishop: what, before he entered into conflict with the Pelagians, and what afterwards? Did he not formerly attribute the election of those that were chosen to eternal life, to the foresight of faith, which afterwards he disclaimed, as a mere Pelagian conceit? So that his adversaries (as appeareth by the epistles of Prosper and Hilarius) did not only charge him to be contrary to the fathers, but to himself also. Did not Ambrose[1], in his time, complain that he was forced to teach before he had learned, and so to deliver many things, that should need and require a second review? Doth not their Angelical Doctor, in his *Sum of Theology*, correct and alter many things that he had written before? Let not our adversaries, therefore, insult upon Luther, for that he saw not all the abominations of popery at the first; but let them rather consider of, and yield to the reasonableness of the request which in the Preface of his works he maketh to all Christian and well-minded readers[2], to wit, that they would read his books and writings with judgment, and with much commiseration, and remember that he was sometimes a friar, nourished in the errors of the Romish Church, so that it was more painful to him to forget those things he had formerly ill learned, than to learn anew that which is good.

But, say they[3], Luther himself witnesseth, that contrariety and contradiction is a note of falsehood; and therefore,

[1] "Ego enim raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium docere vos cœpi, quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere. Discendum igitur mihi simul et docendum est, quoniam non vacavit ante discere; et quantum libet quisque profecerit, nemo est qui doceri non egeat dum vivit." Ambrosius, Officiorum, lib. I. cap. 1.

[2] Luther, in his preface before his works.

[3] Bellarm. lib. IV. cap. 10. De notis Ecclesiæ ait, Lutherum sic dicere in libro de votis monasticis.

his writings being contradictory, the later to the former, his whole doctrine must needs be false, even in his own judgment. Let them that thus reason against Luther, know, that his meaning is not, that whosoever retracteth and correcteth that he formerly taught, is thereby convinced of falsehood, and his whole doctrine proved to be erroneous; but that those assertions that do imply contradiction and contrariety, that stand wholly upon doubtful, uncertain, and perplexed disputes, and so overthrow themselves, do thereby appear to be false. Of which nature are all the principal parts of the Romish doctrine. For example: Transubstantiation is one of the greatest mysteries of popish religion, and all Papists at this day do firmly hold and believe it: yet, it is demonstratively proved by their own best divines, that such a total conversion or transubstantiation of the sacramental elements into the body and blood of Christ, is impossible, and implicateth in it sundry contradictions, and consequences of horrible impieties.

For is it not implied in the nature of the transubstantiation[1], or total conversion of one substance into another, that the one must succeed the other in being, and that the former must cease to be, and the latter thereupon begin to be? Whence it will follow, that the latter of the two substances into which the conversion is made, was not, nor had no being before. Now what greater blasphemy can there be, than to think Christ's body had no being, till the massing priests had wrought this miraculous transubstantiation? It is true, that

[1] The conversion or turning of one thing into another, is, then, when upon the ceasing of the former, the latter beginneth to be in such sort as the conversion is: if it be substantial, the former ceasing to be that substance it was, the latter begins to be that substance it was not before. Wherefore if bread be substantially turned into Christ's body, the ceasing of the substance of bread is the beginning of the substance of his body; this is called by Scotus, *transubstantiatio productiva*, and is confessed to be impossible in respect of the substance of bread, and the body of Christ. Wherefore they say, that one substance may be said to be turned into the other, when upon the ceasing of the former, the latter begins to have the same qualities, apparel, place, and employment the former had; and so suppose the body of Christ filling the same place that the bread did, but now ceaseth to do (returning into that nothing out of which it was taken), that the bread may be said to be turned in Christ's body: and this is called by them *transubstantiatio adductiva*. See Scotus in 4 Distinct. XI.

one substance may be changed into another, as was Lot's wife into a pillar of salt: but, that one substance should pass, and be totally transubstantiated into another, having the same being, without all difference, before the supposed transubstantiation, that after it hath; and nothing being new in it, in respect of substance or being, implieth a contradiction: and therefore, the sacramental elements cannot be transubstantiated into Christ's body and blood.

That which Bellarmine hath out of Scotus, of *Transubstantiatio productiva* and *adductiva*, is the most childish folly that ever was: for this is that he saith: The substance of the sacramental elements is annihilated, and they return into that nothing out of which they were formerly taken, and then Christ's body cometh into the place where they were before: therefore the one substance may be said to be changed into the other. If this reason be good, when one man removeth out of his place, into which another, upon his remove, doth enter, the former may be said to be transubstantiated into the latter. For, as the former of the two supposed men goeth out of his place into some other; whereupon the other succeedeth him, not in being, but in place: so the sacramental elements go out of their place, and return to that nothing, out of which they were created; and the body of Christ succeedeth them, not in being, which it had the very same while they were, but in place.

Neither can this supposed conversion of the elements into the body of Christ[1], be the cause of Christ's being in the sacrament; but rather, of their own ascension and going up into heaven. For, though when one substance is turned into another not being before the conversion, but by the conversion beginning to be; that, into which the conversion is made, occupieth and possesseth the place the other held: as when Lot's wife was converted into a pillar of salt, the pillar stood in that place where she was when she was converted: yet if one substance should be changed into another pre-existent, the converted should get the place of that into which it were converted; so that the bread and wine on the mystical table, being converted into the body and blood of Christ sitting in heaven at the right hand of God, should go up into heaven, and not bring him to the table. And yet

[1] Scotus in 4 Distinct. XIII. q. 1.

this was the principal reason that moved the authors of transubstantiation to like better of that than of any other construction of Christ's words. For that they supposed thereby the body of Christ might be made present in the sacrament, without any change of place or local motion, in respect of itself, which yet Scotus[1], Occam[2], and the later schoolmen do utterly reject: so sweetly do these men agree that talk so much of unity. Verily, I am persuaded there are more material and real differences, amongst them, touching this one sacrament, than there are appearing differences or controversies, amongst those of our religion, touching all points of religion.

For is it not so[3], that there are four opinions touching the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and three of them different from transubstantiation? So that notwithstanding the decree of the Lateran council, many of the wisest and best learned were of opinion that transubstantiation cannot be deduced from the Scripture, or the Church's determination. Did not Thomas Aquinas[4], and the rest of that time deny that one body may be locally in more places than one at one time, and reject it as a thing impossible, and implying contradiction? And do not the papists at this day judge us heretics for being of the same opinion? Did they not, in Berengarius' time[5], think that the very body of Christ is torn with teeth, and yet without hurt, by a strange miracle? And was not Berengarius, in his recantation, forced to say so much? Yet at this day this conceit is holden most absurd and foolish. Do not some of them say, that the body of Christ goeth down into the stomach and belly, and is eaten of mice and dogs? And do not others detest this blasphemous impiety? Do not some of them say, there are accidents in the sacraments without substance? And do not others affirm, that those accidents are inherent in the air? Do not some

[1] Scotus in 4 Distinct. x. q. 1. [2] In 4. quæst. 6.

[3] Cameracensis, Sent. 4 in q. 6.

[4] Thomas in quodlibetalibus quæstionibus, quodlibeto, 3, q. 1, art. 2. Durandus, lib. IV. Distinct. II. quæst. 1.

[5] Confessio Berengarii est, panem et vinum post consecrationem esse verum corpus et sanguinem Christi; et sensualiter non solum in Sacramento, sed etiam in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, et frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri. [See Cosin, Transubstant. p. 175.]

of them say[1], that when the priest breaketh that which he holdeth in his hands after consecration, it is no true breaking, but a deceiving of the sense? Others, that he truly breaketh, and yet nothing is broken: others, that Christ's body is broken: and others, that the accidents are broken? Such a broken religion have these men devised, that neither the fathers, nor any, before barbarism had possessed all, ever thought of. Do not some of them say, that Christ in the sacrament retaineth his own proportion of parts, figure, and fashion? And do not others say and demonstratively prove, that if he be in the sacrament, he hath no distance of parts, no figure, no fashion, nor organical disposition of body, and consequently no life? The rest of the infinite mazes that these men, turning out of the direct way, have lost themselves in, I have no pleasure to tread out. But those few examples may suffice to shew, that their whole doctrine is full of uncertainty, contrariety, and contradiction; and doth testify against itself, that it is not of God.

It were easy to shew, that all popish doctrine is nothing else but a mass of uncertainties and contradictions, shewing that they are out of the way that profess it, and know not how to find either it or themselves. If any papist dare deny this, it shall be proved against him in particulars. But they will say, notwithstanding all these differences, yet they submit their judgments to the censure of the pope and council; and therefore, their divisions are not dangerous nor heretical.

How false and shameless this answer is, the infinite number of them that have ever judged that the pope may err and become a heretic, doth apparently demonstrate[2].

If they shall say, that they dare not rely upon the infal-

[1] "Corpus Christi est totum in tota hostia et totum in qualibet parte: hinc dubitatur an retinet distantiam partium? Distinguit Scotum ordinem partium in toto, et in loco: primum retinere dicit, non secundum. Occam probat secundum non posse esse sine primo, nec primum sine secundo: unde probat corpus Christi in Eucharistia, non habere distantiam vel ordinem partium in toto vel loco, vel per consequentes nullam figuram nec esse organicum, et proinde nec animatum (Occam, lib. IV. q. 4.)" Cameracensis in IV. quæst. 5. [See Cosin on Transubstantiation, p. 73. New edit.]

[2] "Quod pontifex ipse errare in judicando possit, asseverantissime a plerisque pronunciatur." Pieus, Theoremate 4. [Opera, II. p. 259.] ubi etiam Concilia errare posse ostendit.

libility of the pope's judgment, yet they rest in the determination of general councils, it will be found that they are as doubtful, touching the authority of councils, as they are concerning the pope; some saying, they are mere human inventions[1]; others, that they are nothing if the pope confirm them not; others, that they are, though he refuse to confirm them; and others that both may err: some rejecting one council, and some another; as appeareth by the contrary judgment of papists, of the councils of Constance, Basil, Pisa, and Florence.

But they will say, they all hold that which the Catholic Roman Church doth hold; and in other things, not yet agreed upon, think every man at his pleasure. This is as much as if they should have said, that wherein soever they all agree, they all agree; and wherein soever they differ, each faction doth differ from another, and carefully provideth that nothing shall pass against it by public consent; as appeareth in the matter of Mary's conception, and sundry other things, which no council durst ever determine, for fear of offending the contrary factions dissenting about these things. Thus then, I hope, it appeareth out of that which hath been spoken, that by the note of unity and division, the Romanists are found to be in error, and not we. What degree of unity is necessarily required in the true Churches of God, and what divisions may be found among the societies of Christians, and yet not cause them to cease to be the true Churches of God, I have sufficiently cleared in that part wherein I shewed what is the nature of schism and heresy.

[1] Pighius Hierarch. Ecclesiast. lib. VI. cap. 1, 2, 4, putavit universalium conciliorum Constantinum inventorem fuisse: [p. 210, b.] quem divinorum mysteriorum atque adeo Romani pontificis auctoritatis ignarum fuisse pronunciat. Hunc reprehendit Andradius de generalium Conciliorum auctoritate, lib. I. fol. 10. Idem Andradius ait; si universi patres in synodo aliquid definirent unanimiter, cui definitioni sola persona papæ contradiceret, synodo standum esse, et non judicio papæ: et idem sensisse ait Turrecrematam, et tamen etiam hi Basilienses damnabant, ut patet ibidem. Gallia Synodum Florentinam pro Œcumenica nunquam habuit, noluit audire, nec perfectam admisit. Andrad. de Script. et Tradit. Auctoritate, lib. II. fol. 251.

Constantiensem Synodum Œcumenicam esse negat Cajetanus, affirmat Andradius in eodem lib. fol. 253.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OF UNIVERSALITY.

THE next note of the Church is universality, concerning which many things have been spoken in the former part, touching the notes of the Church in general. Wherefore, passing by those things, let us in this place observe only these few things following. First, therefore, to the universality of the Church it is required that it extend to all times, places, and sorts of men. Secondly, this universality is not found in any one Church, limited either in respect of time or place. Thirdly, from hence it followeth that it is nowhere found, but in that blessed number of Christians that have been, are, and shall be. Fourthly, it cannot be a note of the true Church, that is, the multitude of men now living in the world, as being found in it; for that multitude is not universal, but limited in respect of time, being only the number of them that live at one time; and may be limited also in respect of place; for it is not necessary that the Church be in all places at one time, but it sufficeth if it be successively[1]. Fifthly, universality may be a note of the true Church in respect of particular societies of Christians, limited in time and place; though not by having it, yet by demonstrating themselves to pertain to the unity of that Church that hath it. This no particular Church can do, but by proving that it holdeth the common faith once delivered to the saints, without heretical innovation, or schismatical violation of the unity and peace of the Christian world.

This being the way for particular Churches to demonstrate themselves to be catholic, by proving they hold the catholic faith, it is easy from hence to conclude, that the reformed Churches are the Catholic Churches of God. First, for that, that being catholic, as Vincentius Lirinensis defineth it[2], which is and hath been holden, at all times, and in all

[1] Bellarm. lib. IV. cap. 7, De notis Ecclesiæ, nota 4. ["Nota quod etsi Ecclesia non necessario debeat simul esse in omnibus locis, tamen hoc tempore debet necessario vel esse, vel fuisse in majori parte orbis terræ."]

[2] Commonitorium, contra profanas hæreticorum novitates. [cap. 3.]

places, by all Christians that have not been noted for novelty, singularity, and division; whatsoever hath been so received, we receive as the undoubted truth of God: neither is there any of the things which we impugn, and the papists defend, that is catholic, but they all carry the marks of novelty and uncertainty. Secondly, touching the communion the people of God should have among themselves, our adversaries shall never prove that we have at any time given occasion of those breaches which now appear; but we will prove against them that they have: and so the note of universality maketh nothing for them, or against us.

Touching the name of Catholic, devised to express those, both men and societies of men, which hold the common faith without faction or division, I have spoken sufficiently in the former part, touching the notes of the Church; and so need not here to insist upon it. Thus have we run through the examination of the principal notes of the Church assigned by our adversaries: but, because they add unto these certain other, I will briefly examine their proofs taken from thence, for themselves, or against us.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF THE SANCTITY OF DOCTRINE, AND THE SUPPOSED ABSURDITIES OF OUR PROFESSION.

THESE notes are, sanctity and efficacy of doctrine; our own confession, miracles, and predictions; the felicity and infelicity of such as defend or impugn the truth; and lastly, the holy and religious conversation of the professors of the truth. Let us take a view of these in such sort and order as they are proposed by them. They place in front the sanctity and efficacy of doctrine.

A liar, they say, should have a good memory: but surely, our adversaries, of all the liars that ever were, have the worst memories; by reason whereof, every second page of their writings, if not every second line, is a refutation of the first. Bellarmine divideth his tract of the Notes of the

Church into two parts. In the first he sheweth, what things are required in the notes of the Church; and there he saith, truth and sanctity of doctrine is no note of the Church. In the latter, he doth particularly assign the notes whereby he supposeth the Church may be known; and reckoneth truth, sanctity, and efficacy of doctrine, amongst the rest. But let us pardon him this oversight, and see how he proveth by this note that we are not, and that their faction is, the true Church of God.

Our doctrine is false, absurd, and unreasonable: and theirs, full of truth, reason, and equity: therefore our Churches are not the true Churches of God, and theirs are. Both parts of the antecedent of this argument we deny. For he shall never be able to prove the absurdities he imputeth to us: but we are able to demonstrate against him, that the whole course of popish doctrine is most absurd, false, and impious.

But lest he should seem to say nothing, he produceth four instances, wherein he supposeth there is apparent and very gross absurdity. The first he proposeth in this sort: the Protestants teach, that a man is justified by special faith, whereby he persuadeth himself that he is just. Now, then, he reasoneth thus: when men begin to believe, either they are just; and then their faith justifieth not, being in nature after their justification, and finding them already just, when it beginneth: or else, they are not just; and then special faith making a man believe he is just, is false; and so a man is justified by a lie. To this horned argument we answer, that special faith hath sundry acts, but to this purpose specially two: the one, by way of petition, humbly entreating for acceptation and favour; the other, in the nature of comfortable assurance, consisting in a persuasion that that was granted which was desired. Faith, by her first act, obtaineth and worketh our justification, and doth not find us just when we begin to believe: by her second act, she doth not actually justify, but finding the thing done, certifieth and assureth us of it; and so is no lying persuasion, as this lying companion is pleased to pronounce it to be. So, then, special faith, in her first act, which is a kind of petition, is before justification, and procureth or obtaineth it; but then, she hath not the persuasion of it: in her second act, she presupposeth the

thing done, and already obtained; and so, truly persuadeth the believer of it, but procureth not the doing of it.

The second palpable and gross absurdity of the Protestant's doctrine is, that it is not lawful to say the Lord's prayer. This the Cardinal proveth, because no man of the Protestant's religion can, without dissimulation, ask forgiveness of sins, which is one of the principal petitions of that prayer. This petition they cannot make, because they hold that all right believing and justified men are without sin, and know themselves so to be; and, therefore, cannot be excusable from vile dissimulation and mocking of God, in asking remission of their sins. The impudency of this imputation is such as, I think, all moderate papists are ashamed of it. For, doth any of us think that the justified man is void of all sin? Or, is it consequent, if a man know himself to be justified, that then he may not ask remission of his sins? Do not many right learned and wise amongst themselves teach that a man may be sure he is in a state of grace and justification, by the ordinary working of God's spirit[1]? And do not all papists think that, by special revelation, men may be sure they are in a state of grace, as Paul and sundry others were? Do all these teach that men thus assured of their justification know themselves to have no sin, and, consequently, nothing whereof they should ask forgiveness? Surely, herein, I think, both they and we agree, that, in the justified, the dominion of sin ceaseth, sin hath no longer dominion over them, and that, proportionably, the guilt of condemnation is taken away; but that there are still remainders of sin in them not perfectly extinguished; and that though, while they remain in the state of justification, they sin not with full consent, to the excluding of grace, and subjecting of themselves to the guilt of condemnation; yet there are many sinful evils they run into, which subject them to God's displeasure, and for which he will not fail to judge them, if they judge not themselves. For the weakening and abolishing of those sinful evils, and the averting of that displeasure wherewith God is displeased with men for them, the justified do pray unto God; which is to ask forgiveness of sins, as in the Lord's prayer is meant. For, the petition is understood

[1] Alexander of Hales, John Bacon, Vega, Ambrosius Catharinus, and divers other, of whom see cap. 7. [c. 26?]

of the sins of the servants of God[1], and such as are in a state of grace; as Augustine teacheth. Thus, then, the justified man knoweth that the dominion of his sins is taken away, and that the guilt of condemnation, whereunto they subject such as are under the dominion of them, is already removed; and, therefore, he doth not desire nor ask forgiveness of sins in this sort; but the inherence of sin he acknowledgeth in himself, notwithstanding his justification, which still subjecteth him to God's displeasure and punishments accompanying the same. These things he desireth to be removed; and, in this sense, asketh forgiveness of sins.

If it be replied, that the remission of the sins of the justified is full and perfect, and that, therefore, they that know themselves to be justified cannot ask remission, which they know they have perfectly already, we answer, that the remission of the sins of the justified is full and perfect, not for that they are already freed actually from the inherence of sin, and the displeasure of God disliking it, but because they have full title unto, and right in that mercy of God, which, as it hath already delivered them from the dominion and condemnation of sin, so it will in the end wholly free them from the inherence of it, and the displeasure of God disliking it.

His next allegation is more frivolous than the former. The Anabaptists, saith he, do most certainly and assuredly persuade themselves that they are accepted of God, and, therefore, they have true faith, according to the doctrine of the Protestants, who define faith to be the assurance of the merciful goodness of God: yet do the Protestants deny them to be justified, unless they forsake their errors; and so, by consequent, do say, they have true faith, and yet are not justified; which is to affirm that they are just and not just. To this we answer, that there is as great difference between true confidence and assurance (which only is to be named

[1] "Est pœnitentia bonorum et humilium fidelium pene quotidiana, in qua pectora tundimus, dicentes, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*, illa utique quæ humanæ fragilitati quamvis parva, tamen crebra, subrepunt." Aug. Seleucianæ, Epist. 109 = [265, § 8.] "Oratio quotidiana, quam docuit ipse Dominus, delet quidem quotidiana peccata, cum quotidie dicitur, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*." De civitate Dei, lib. XXI. cap. 27, [§ 4.]

faith), and that which is found in heretics, as between the joy and gladness that is fantastical and is found in men dreaming, and that which is true and in men waking.

That quietness of mind either proceedeth from senseless stupidity in men having cauterized consciences, though there be just cause of fearful apprehensions; or from the not finding or having any matter of condemning remorse; even as some men are touched with no grief, or afflicted with any smart or pain, though no part be sound or well in them, because they are in a dead and senseless stupidity; and others feel not pain, because they are perfectly well. It is not, therefore, every assured confidence that is faith, but true confidence. Neither is it to be doubted, but that heretics do oftentimes confidently persuade themselves they please God, and think they embrace true piety, as men dreaming do persuade themselves they enjoy and possess all things, though they possess nothing. But as men waking know the things they apprehend are so indeed as they apprehend them, and not in fancy only, as men sleeping are deluded; so true Christians know the persuasion they have of God's goodness towards them, groweth from due and just consideration, and not from deceivable fancy, and imagination only, as in heretics it doth[1]. This point is excellently cleared by Alexander of Hales, the first, the greatest of all the schoolmen, whose reasons and proofs that true Christians may be assured they are in a state of grace and acceptation with God, Bellarmine cannot answer[2].

Thus we have seen the supposed absurd positions wherewith the Jesuit charged all Protestants in general. In the next place, he produceth such as are proper to the Lutherans; and in the last place, such as are peculiar to the Calvinists. For thus it pleaseth him to term us, by these names of faction and division, whereas it is antichrist's pride that hath made all the breaches in the Christian world, and would have laid all waste, if God had not preserved a remnant.

The error wherewith he chargeth the Lutherans, is, that children, when they are baptized, have faith, hope, and love. Is this an error? Are they justified, sanctified, and made

[1] Joan. Baconus (lib. III. dist. 30, q. 1, art. 2) ait, habentem charitatem posse certitudinaliter scire se esse in charitate.

[2] Part III. quæst. lxi. memb. 7, art. 3.

the temple of the Holy Ghost, when they are baptized; and have they neither faith, hope, love? Doth not justification imply all these in it? But they have not the act of faith: no more they have of reason: have they not therefore the faculty of reason? This then is that which these men teach, whom it pleaseth these antichristian sectaries odiously to name Lutherans, namely, that children, when they are adopted, and made the sons of God, when they are justified, or sanctified, are filled with the habits or potential abilities of these virtues, and that they have the beginning, root, and seed, of faith, hope, and love. For the farther clearing of this objection, read Kemnitius in his *Examen of the Tridentine Council.*

The error of the Calvinists, touching absolute necessity, and that God is the author of sin, is but the imagination of the Romanists; as I have already sufficiently shewed. For Calvin and we all detest both these absurdities.

CHAPTER XLV.

OF THE PARADOXES AND GROSS ABSURDITIES OF THE ROMISH RELIGION.

THUS then the paradoxes and gross absurdities which this cardinal adversary of God's true religion imputeth unto us, are but the fancies of his own idle brain. But if we should enter into the examination of the several parts of their profession, it were not hard really to convince them of the most senseless follies that ever the world was acquainted with. But because it would be tedious and unseasonable, in this general controversy of the Church, to enter into particular handling of things more fitly reserved to their own proper places, I will only touch some few things that may seem to concern the whole frame and fabric of their religion.

They all hold at this day, that the infallibility of the pope's judgment, is the rock on which the Church is builded; and that this is the difference between a Catholic and a

heretic, that, though both believe many divine and supernatural truths, yet they build not themselves upon the same grounds of persuasion. For the Catholic builds himself upon the sure ground of the infallibility of the Church's chief pastor's judgment; but the heretic upon other things yielding him satisfaction concerning the truth of that he believeth, whatsoever the judgment of the pope be. And yet the same men which thus teach, do say, it is no matter of faith to acknowledge, or not to acknowledge, the infallibility of the pope's judgment; and that a man may be a true Catholic that thinketh the pope may err[1].

These two assertions are directly contradictory. The first they embrace, because they find the authority papal to be the surest stay of all their false faith and antichristian profession: and the second they are forced unto, because they dare not condemn so many famous, renowned, and great divines as have been of that opinion, as Durandus, Gerson, Cameracensis, Almaine, Waldensis, and innumerable more. By this their contradicting of themselves, not yet knowing whereon to ground their faith, it is evident they have no faith at all.

Secondly, if we should grant them to have any faith, yet will it be found to be sophistical, or merely human. For the reason, ground, and cause of their persuasion, touching things divine, is the testimony of the Church, infallibly led into all truth: and that there is a Church thus led into all truth, whose testimony is undoubtedly certain and true, they believe, because the Church telleth them so: as if a man should believe the reports of such a man, because he is wise, faithful, and honest, and believe him to be so, only because he saith so.

To avoid this sophistical circulation, sundry of the schoolmen do freely confess, that the ground of their faith is nothing else but the multitude and consent of men, nations, and people agreeing in the profession of it; and consequently, that it is

[1] "Papam in decreto fidei errare non posse, veritas certa et recepta est, etsi non de fide, propter multos Catholicos qui contrarium tenuerunt: ut Gerson, Occam, Almaynus, et omnes fere Parisienses, denique et alii omnes qui concilium supra papam esse asseruerunt. Hodie vero Alphonsus a Castro, Adrianus VI., et Durandus." Stapleton contro. III. q. 4. [Opera, II. p. 713.]

merely a human persuasion, and that they have no faith at all, which always stayeth itself upon the certainty of the first truth.

Thirdly, they teach that mortal men are never bound to give God thanks for the greatest benefit that is bestowed on them in this world; nay, that to give him thanks for it, were a grievous sin. This is most evident; for the great benefit of all other is justification: but for this no man may give God thanks, because no man knoweth whether he hath received it or not, nor can assure himself of it without intolerable and inexcusable presumption. Nay, some of these seducers are not ashamed to write, that every man is bound to doubt of it, with so fearful doubting as may cause trembling; applying that place of the Apostle to that purpose; "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling." Now I think, he which should come to God, and give him thanks for that, which, whether he have received or not, he is so doubtful that he trembleth for fear, should but mock God, and mistake his own meaning.

Fourthly, they hold that Paul, and so many more as knew certainly they were in state of justification, did sin damnably in saying the Lord's Prayer; and that they did as foolishly, as if a man should come to God, and ask of him the creation of the world, which was made long ago.

CHAPTER XLVI.

OF THE EFFICACY OF THE CHURCH'S DOCTRINE.

THUS were it most easy for us to shew in many other particulars, that the course of their doctrine is full of palpable absurdities. But let these few instances suffice; and let us pass from the sanctity of the Church's doctrine, to that the Jesuit addeth, touching the efficacy of it: where he affirmeth two things: the first, that heretics never convert any from infidelity to the faith; the second, that the Church of Rome hath converted. This which the Jesuit so confidently delivereth, is partly false, and partly to no purpose

at all. For whereas he saith, heretics never convert any from infidelity to Christianity, the conversion of the Moscovites, by the Greek Church, at that time when it was, in his judgment, heretical and schismatical, abundantly refuteth him, besides some other examples that might be alleged.

Touching the other part of his speech, that the Church of Rome hath converted many nations to the faith, it maketh nothing to the purpose. For we have already shewed, that we doubt not, but the Church, in which the bishop of Rome, with more than Lucifer-like pride, exalteth himself, was, notwithstanding, the true Church of God; that it held a saving profession of the truth in Christ; and, by force thereof, did convert many from error to the way of truth; yet was not the state of that Church such, but that a damnable faction of wicked ones was found in the midst of it, who, being the vassals of that cursed Antichrist, adulterated the word of God, and brought his people into a miserable estate, holding men in worse than Babylonical captivity. These men the Romanists succeed at this day. For the clearing of this matter, see that which I have noted before to this purpose.

CHAPTER XLVII.

OF THE PROTESTANTS' PRETENDED CONFESSION, THAT THE ROMAN CHURCH IS THE TRUE CHURCH OF GOD.

THE next note[1] whereby Bellarmine endeavoureth to prove the Romish Synagogue to be the true Church of God, is our own confession. Surely, if he can prove that we confess it to be the true Church, he needeth not use any other arguments. Let us see, therefore, how he proveth, that we confess the Roman Church to be the true Church of God. Luther[2], saith he, clearly yieldeth it: and Calvin, and others, in effect, acknowledge the same. This we deny: for neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor any of us, do acknowledge

[1] Bellarm. cap. 16, nota 13.

[2] Contra Anabaptistas, [quoted by Bellarmine, ibid.]

that the popish religion is true religion; or the Romish faction the orthodox Church of God. It is true, indeed, that Luther, writing against the Anabaptists, doth affirm, that the life of true Christianity was preserved in the midst of those Churches wherein the pope did formerly tyrannize; which thing we have more fully cleared before. But, that any part of that doctrine the reformed Churches have rejected, was to be accounted the doctrine of the Church, or that those wicked ones (in whose steps the Romanists at this day do insist, perverting the straight ways of God, and adulterating his heavenly truth), were lively members of the Church, Luther did never so much as dream.

That which is alleged out of Calvin[1], touching Bernard, and other holy men, living and dying in the Roman Church, is to no purpose. For we never doubted but that the Churches, wherein those holy men did live and die, were the true Churches of God, and held the saving possession of heavenly truth, though there were innumerable in the midst of them that adulterated the same to their endless perdition; whose successors the Romanists are at this day. There is, therefore, a great difference to be made between the Church wherein our fathers formerly lived, and that faction of the pope's adherents which at this day resist against the necessary reformation of the Churches of God, and make that their faith and religion, which, in former times, was but the private and unresolved opinion of some certain only. In former times, a man might hold the general doctrine of those Churches wherein our fathers lived, and be saved, though the assertions of some men were damnable: now it is clean contrary, touching the present state of the Romish Church: for the general and main doctrine, agreed upon in the council of Trent, in sort as it is most commonly conceived, is damnable: but there are (no doubt) some of a better spirit, and have in themselves particularly a better conceit of things than generally is holden. Formerly, the Church of Rome was the true Church, but had in it an heretical faction: now

[1] "Calvinus (inquit Bellar. eodem cap.) vocat Bernardum pium scriptorem: at certe papista fuit Bernardus: et nemo est pius sine vera fide." [See the Instit. x. § 17.] Idem probat ex Luthero [ut supra] et Philippo [Apolog. art. 5 et 27] ib.

the Church itself is heretical, and some certain only are found in it in such degree of orthodoxy as that we may well hope of their salvation. Thus, then, this great objection, taken from our own confession, is easily answered.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

OF MIRACLES CONFIRMING THE ROMAN FAITH.

THE next note of the Church is[1], God's own testimony which he giveth, of the truth and sanctity of the faith and profession it holdeth. This, doubtless, is the most absolute and excellent note of all other. For that must needs be the true Church, which holdeth the true faith and profession; and that the true profession, which God, that neither himself can be deceived, nor deceive others, doth witness and testify to be so. For who dare make any doubt, whether that be the true religion, or that the true Church, which the God of truth witnesseth to be so? Let us see, therefore, how God doth testify concerning the truth of religion, and the happy condition of them that profess it.

Surely, this testification is of two sorts: the one by the inward operation of his enlightening Spirit, satisfying our understandings in those things, which by nature's light we could not discern, and filling our hearts with joy and gladness such and so great as nothing within nature's compass can yield. For by this so great, happy, and heavenly an alteration, which we find in ourselves, upon and together with the receiving of this doctrine, which the spirit of truth doth teach us, he doth most clearly witness unto us, that it is heavenly indeed, and such as we could not have attained unto but by divine revelation. The other kind of testification is, when, being desired by them that teach and learn this doctrine, to give some outward testimony that it is true, he doth some such thing for the good of them that receive it, or hurt of such as refuse it, as none but God can do. But because, partly, by reason of the manifold illusions where-

[1] Chap. XIV. note 11.

with Satan can, and often doth abuse men, making it seem unto them that those things are done which are not; and partly, because we do not exactly know what may be done by the force of natural causes; we cannot infallibly know[1], concerning any outward thing performed before our eyes, that it is indeed immediately and miraculously wrought by God's own most sacred hands. This kind of testification is not matchable with the other: nay, we cannot be infallibly assured of anything done, that it is God's own work, and indeed a miracle, unless this assurance grow out of the former testification. For we may justly fear some fraud, till finding by the inward testimony of God's Spirit, the truth of that for proof whereof this strange thing is done, we are assured it is the immediate and peculiar work of God. This assurance, the quality of the things done, and the difference between the works of Satan which only cause admiration and wonder, and the miraculous works of God, that are full of gracious goodness winning the hearts of such as see them[2], will greatly strengthen.

To what purpose then (will some man say) served all the miracles that were done by Christ and his blessed Apostles? This doubt is easily cleared: for whereas the things then taught were new, strange, and incredible to natural men; they would not at all have listened unto them, made inquiry after them, or search into them, had not the strange works that followed the publishers of them, made them think the things credible that were accompanied with so strange attendants. Now, while they gave heed to the things that were spoken, the word was mighty in operation, and entered into them in such sort, that they discerned it was God's own word, and that the way of salvation which by it they were directed unto.

Thus, then, we see, that miracles are not sure notes of

[1] "Ante approbationem Ecclesiæ non est evidens, aut certum certitudine fidei, de ullo miraculo, quod sit verum miraculum." Bell. in eodem cap.

[2] Aug. de utilitate credendi, c. 16. "Miraculum (inquit) voco, quicquid arduum, aut insolitum supra spem vel facultatem mirantis apparet. —Quædam solum faciunt admirationem: quædam vero magnam gratiam benevolentiamque conciliant; talia facta sunt illo tempore quo Deus in vero homine quantum sat erat hominibus apparebat." Hunc locum producit Scotus prolog. sentent. q. de octavo.

the truth of religion, nor certain marks to know the Church by, unless they be strengthened by some other means: not for that a miracle, known to be so, is insufficient to testify of the truth of God; but because it is not possible infallibly to know that the things which seem unto us to be miracles, be so indeed, unless being assured of the truth of that, for confirmation whereof they are wrought, we thereby be persuaded they are of God. All that hath been hitherto said is confessed to be true by the best learned divines of the Roman Church. Yea, Cardinal Cajetan proceedeth so far[1], that he pronounceth, it cannot be certainly known that those miracles are true miracles which the Church admitteth and approveth in the canonizing of saints; seeing the truth of them dependeth on men's report, that may deceive and be deceived.

Thus having declared what the use of miracles is, and how far they give testimony of the truth, let us see what our adversaries conclude from hence, for themselves, or against us. They have miracles for confirmation of their faith and religion, and we have none: therefore, they hold the true faith, and we are in error. For answer hereunto, first, we say, that the truth of religion cannot infallibly and certainly be found out by miracles; especially in these last times; because, as Gerson noteth in his book, *De distinctione verarum et falsarum visionum*, in this old age of the world, in this last hour, and time so near Antichrist his revelation, it is not to be marvelled at if the world, like a doting old man, be abused by many illusions and fantasies most like to dreams.

Secondly, we say, that howsoever it may be, some miracles were done, by such good men as lived in the corrupt state of the Church, in the days of our fathers; yet that is no proof of those errors which the Romanists maintain against us. For we peremptorily deny that ever any miracle was done by any, in times past, or in our times, to confirm any of the things controverted between them and us. What

[1] Tom. II. opuscul. tractat. 1, de conceptione Virginis, cap. 1. ["Miracula quæ ab ecclesia suscipiuntur in canonizationibus sanctorum, quæ tamen maxime authentica sunt, quum humano testimonio innitantur (eorum scilicet qui testantur) non omnino certa sunt: quoniam scriptum est, 'omnis homo mendax'." p. 71.]

credit is to be given to the reports of their miracles[1], they may easily conceive, in that in all the differences they have had amongst themselves, either in matters of opinion or faction, they have had contrary visions, revelations, and miracles, to confirm the persuasion of either side; as appeareth in the differences touching Mary's conception, and in the times of the antipopes. Whereupon Cajetan[2], writing to pope Leo, about the controversy of Mary's conception, wisheth him not to suffer his judgment to be swayed by show of miracles, and giveth many good reasons of the uncertainty of finding out the truth by that means.

Thirdly, whereas they say we have no miracles, and therefore not the true faith and religion, we deny both the antecedent and the consequent. For, first, the restoring of the purity of religion in our age, hath not been without wonderful demonstration of the power of God, to confirm the truth of our doctrine, and the equity of our cause, as may appear by that which was reported by Illyricus[3], the *English Martyrologue*, and other histories, of better credit than those out of which they report their miracles. And besides, we say, though we had no miracles, we are not thereby convinced of error; for the use of miracles was specially, if not only, in respect of infidels, as Cajetan sheweth in the place above mentioned, out of 1 Corinthians ii.; and the authority of Gregory, in his tenth homily; and served to make the mysteries of God seem credible, to such as were wholly averse from them. So that now the faith being already generally planted and received in the world, and confirmed by the miracles done by Christ and his apostles, and nothing being taught by us but the same which was delivered by them in the beginning, nothing contrary to the confirmed and received doctrine of the Church of God then in the world

[1] "Fit aliquando in Ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus vel iis adhærentibus propter lucrum temporale: talia extirpanda sunt, sicut ista extirpata sunt a Daniele." Lyra in 14 Danielis.

[2] Tom. II. Opuscul. tractat. 1, de conceptione Virginis, cap. 5. Sanctæ autem Brigidæ, quæ dixit sibi revelatum beatam virginem præservatam esse ab originali peccato, e regione ponitur Sancta Catharina de Senis, quæ dixit sibi revelatum esse oppositum."

[3] In Catalogo testium veritatis.

when these differences between us and our adversaries began, there is no reason they should urge us to confirm our doctrine by miracles. If they require us to confirm our calling and ministry, as being extraordinary, we say, it is not extraordinary; as hath been sufficiently cleared in the note of succession. That which Bellarmine addeth, that Luther and Calvin attempted to do miracles, but could do none, is but the lying report of his own companions, their sworn enemies, whose testimony in this case is not to be regarded.

CHAPTER XLIX.

OF PROPHETICAL PREDICTION.

THE next note of the Church[1], urged by them, is prophetical prediction. The certain foreknowledge of future contingent things is proper unto God; and, therefore, none can foretell such things before they come to pass, but they to whom God revealeth them: but, that this kind of revelation is made only to them that are of the true Church, I think Bellarmine will not say. For then what shall we think of Balaam, and the sybils? So that prediction of future things is no certain nor proper note of the true Church. But if it were, it would not help them, nor hurt us. For those men they speak of, that lived in the days of our fathers, and prophesied of things to come, were of the true Church; and many of them did most certainly foresee and foretell the ruin of the pope his estate[2], and the alteration and reformation of the Church in our time, and gave most clear testimony unto that which we have done. Neither is there any better proof of the goodness of our cause, than that that which we have done in the reformation of the Church, was before wished for, expected, and foretold by the best men that lived in former times, in the corrupt state of the Church.

[1] Bellarm. cap. 15. nota 12, in eodem lib.

[2] As Grostete, Gerson, Savanarola, and many others before mentioned.

That which Bellarmine scornfully reporteth of Luther's false and lying prophesy, that if he continued but two years in preaching the gospel, the kingdom of the pope should be overthrown, shall (we doubt not) be found true, to the confusion of the enemies of God's truth and religion, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Jesuits to make up the breaches of Babylon, which must be thrown down, till not a stone be left upon a stone. But, that Luther foretold many things before they came to pass[1], wherein his predictions were found most true, we have the testimony of Melancthon, Illyricus, and divers others.

CHAPTER L.

OF THE FELICITY OF THEM THAT PROFESS THE TRUTH.

THE next note of the true Church, assigned by Bellarmine, is the temporal felicity of them that are of it[2]. It was but his private fantasy that moved him to assign this note of the Church. For, his fellows, the divines of Rheims, in their annotations upon the fifth of Matthew, do utterly disclaim it, saying in express and precise words, "We see, then, that the temporal prosperity of persons and countries, is no sign of better men or truer religion."

But, let us suppose these petty divines are deceived in this their judgment (though if they be, we must condemn all the primitive Christians that were in the times of the ten bloody persecutions), and let us grant that the Cardinal saith truly, that temporal felicity and prosperity is a note of the true Church and religion. What doth he gain by it? surely nothing at all: for he is most blind that seeth not the prosperity of all those countries of Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, and the like, where the reformed religion is maintained; and the long life and happy reign of those princes, that have most favoured and sought to advance the same, as of great Elizabeth, of famous memory, late Empress of

[1] In libello demonstr. certitudinis sacrarum literarum et Christianæ religionis.

[2] [Ibid. cap. 18.]

England, &c. who, as she was the great and glorious protector of the reformed Churches, so was she the wonder of the world, in respect of the happy success she had in all things she took in hand, and the perpetual course of felicity and prosperity that ever attended her, notwithstanding the dangerous attempts of bloody miscreants, the hired slaves of the son of perdition. How the professors of this religion, though fewer in number, forsaken and destitute of all worldly assurances, and being, by the falsehood and treachery of their bloody enemies, oftentimes brought as it were to nothing, in France and other places, have yet, strangely, and, indeed miraculously lifted up their heads again, to the terror and confusion of their proudest enemies; he that seeth not is a stranger in the world. Wherefore I will leave the consideration of this note to the indifferent reader, not fearing any great prejudice that can grow from thence against our cause.

CHAPTER LI.

OF THE MISERABLE ENDS OF THE ENEMIES OF THE TRUTH.

THE next is the miserable end of such as are enemies of God's true religion. It is true that God hath oftentimes shewed his judgments most clearly against the wicked enemies of his truth and glory; so that in the end the impiety of their former courses was made to appear, as we see in Herod, Arius, Nestorius, and others: but that any such thing fell out to Luther, Calvin, or any of those worthy men Bellarmine is pleased in this place to slander, we utterly deny. And to the lewd and lying reports of Coclæus and Bolsecus, we oppose the testimony of Junius, Melancthon, and others. And surely it was the world's wonder that Luther, opposing himself against the bloody Romanists, against whom no king or emperor in later times resisted, but he wrought his own overthrow, should, notwithstanding, live so long, die so peaceably, and be buried so honourably, as few of his rank have ever been.

Touching Calvin, there were many witnesses of the

manner of his sickness; but, of his death, none but the worthy Scofferius[1], whose true report we oppose against the wicked and vile slanders of that base and branded runagate, Bolsecus. That Zuinglius died in the field with his countrymen, in defence of their lives, liberties, and religion, is no certain note, as I take it, that his religion was false; but rather, an excellent proof and demonstration of Christian magnanimity and resolution, that rested in him.

How unfortunate they have been in their attempts[2], how unhappy in their ends, that have most opposed themselves against the truth of that religion which we profess, we are able to produce many examples.

CHAPTER LII.

OF THE SANCTITY OF THE LIVES OF THEM THAT ARE OF THE TRUE CHURCH.

THE last note of the Church, assigned by them, is the sanctity, holiness, and good conversation, of such as are of it. In assigning of this note, as in some of the former, they shew how sweetly they conspire and agree together. For Cardinal Allen, in his preface before his Book of Purgatory, confesseth, that by the guile and crafty conveyance of our common enemy, the devil, falsehood is often so cloaked in shadow and shape of truth, and the masters thereof make such shew of virtue and godly life, that you would think it had no affinity with vice, nor origin of man's misbehaviour

[1] Junius animadvers. in Bellarm. controv. 2. lib. IV. cap. 8.

[2] Charles the fifth, that famous emperor, formerly so fortunate in all his attempts, after he began to oppress the duke of Saxony, the Landgrave, and others of the reformed religion, prospered not, and was put to the worse by one poor duke, Maurice. Francis Spira, denying the truth of our religion, which he had formerly professed, died in horrible despair: the woful end of Saunders, that antichristian arch-traitor, is well known to all men: the overthrow of the invincible navy in '88, and the miserable ends of so many traitors in the days of Elizabeth, beside the late sulphurian and hellish miscreants, perishing in their sins, having blown up all good opinion any man might have had of such companions.

at all. So did he cover the wicked heresies of Manichæus, Marcion, Tatianus, and the like, with a feigned flourish of continency and chastity. So did he overcast the enemy of God's grace, Pelagius, with the appearance of all gravity, constancy, and humility[1]. And so hath he always, where craft was requisite to his intent, made shew of a simple sheep, in the cruel carcase of a wily wolf; transfiguring himself into an angel of light. And that his scholars play the like parts, our master Christ, of his singular love, gave his flock this watch-word, for a special proviso: "Take heed of false prophets, that come in sheep's vesture, but within are ravening wolves[2]." So that in all cloaked heresies men must have an eye to the fruit of the doctrines preached, and not only, or principally, to the lives of such as teach them; by the outward appearance whereof it is not always safe to judge.

This the Rheimists do more fully express in their annotations upon this place; saying, the fruits that heretics are known by, are, division from the whole Church, division amongst themselves, inconstancy in doctrine, and such like; and that these are lightly common to all heretics; but that there are some other, more peculiar to certain, as wickedness of life and doctrine, directly tending to corruption of good life, in all states of men.

Thus, then, we see that appearing sanctity, gravity, and godliness, are no sure, certain, infallible, and perpetual notes, to know the true professors by, from such as err and are deceived. But, passing by this their oversight, in that they make such things to be notes of the Church, as are not proper unto it, nor do not clearly distinguish it from heretics; let us see what they endeavour to prove against us, or for themselves, by the force and evidence of this note.

Thus, therefore, they reason: The chief guides of the reformed Churches, and professors of the reformed religion, are apparently wicked and godless men, of vile and scandalous conversation; and the people wicked, yea, much worse than they were in the papacy: but their priests, prelates, monks, friars, and people, are holy and religious: therefore the truth of religion is theirs. This imputation of wicked-

[1] Aug. Ep. 120. [alias, 140. § 83. sq.]

[2] Matth. vii. 15.

ness, Bellarmine fasteneth upon Wickliffe and Luther; and from them descendeth to the people.

Touching Wickliffe, it is a most impudent and shameless challenge; for Waldensis sheweth[1], that his conversation was such, and his manner of life so shadowed with shews of virtue, that he thereby prevailed much; and thereupon sheweth at large, that it is not safe to discern the truth of religion by the appearance of sanctity and good conversation of them that profess it; and that heretics have, and often do clothe themselves with, the robes and garments of seeming virtue and piety. But hath he no proof that Wickliffe was a wicked and godless man? Doubtless he hath, and that very pregnant. For Waldensis reporteth[2], upon an uncertain rumour, that a bishop of Salisbury, in a very great and solemn assembly of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, affirmed that Wickliffe affected the bishopric of Worcester; which when he obtained not, he grew discontented; and so became an enemy to the Catholic Church; impugned the different degrees of ministry, and the dignity of bishops. If this kind of proof be good, innocency itself will not be able to abide the trial.

Wherefore, passing from Wickliffe, against whom it seemeth our adversaries are able to say little, let us see what are those grievous crimes wherewith they charge Luther. First, they say he began to impugn the sale and merchandise of indulgences, not led by any just reason moving him to dislike them, but because the publishing of them was not committed to the friars of his order, but to the friars predicant. This vile slander hath no better ground than the former against Wickliffe. For who will regard the malicious reports of Coclæus, his sworn enemy, against the whole course of things that passed in those times, and the clear evidence of the truth itself? Guicciardine reporteth[3], that the abuses in the merchandise of those pardons were so intolerable, that the pardon-sellers set the price of redemption, and deliverance of souls out of purgatory, as a stake at dice, to be played for, in every inn and tavern where they came; that all good men disliked much this impious and

[1] Lib. I. Doctrinæ præmissiva 8. Tom. I.
[2] Lib. II. Doctrinal. fidei, cap. 6
[3] Histor. lib. XIII.

irreligious abusing the people of God; and that thereupon Luther began his opposition against them, not without the applause of the Christian world.

But to make it most clear to all not wilfully blinded that no such sinister respect moved Luther to impugn the kingdom of the Roman antichrist, it is certain he had, before this occasion was offered unto him, cleared the doctrine of original sin, of nature and grace, of the difference between the spirit and the letter, the law and grace, of freewill, and the like; which are the main grounds of all that doctrine wherein he dissenteth from the Romish synagogue.

But (saith Bellarmine) Coclæus reporteth that Luther, in the disputation at Lipsia between him and Eckius, said, his opposition against the pope and popery was never begun out of any desire of God's glory, nor would ever have any good end. This is a devilish slander; for Luther said no such thing, but that this disputation was not begun, on his adversary's part, out of any desire of the glory of God, or the good of his Church; and that, therefore, it would never have any good end.

That which he writeth to them of Strawesborough, that he would willingly be of their opinion, and deny the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament, if the evidence of truth did not convince him, and force him to be otherwise minded, for that he might thereby disadvantage his adversaries of the Romish faction, no way proveth that which Bellarmine intendeth: for this is all he saith:—"Let no man think that it is wilfulness and a prejudicate opinion that maketh me to dissent from Zuinglius and the rest; for, in my affection and desire, I should rather wish to consent with them in this point, than with the Romanists (whose manifold damnable errors I detest), if it were affection, and not reason and the clear evidence of truth, that must prevail in things of this kind." Indeed, the Romanists are wont to temper their opinions[1], and sway their judgments accordingly as they find they may most advantage their own cause, and

[1] "An cum Apostoli ungebant oleo infirmos, et curabant, illa fuerit sacramentalis, duæ sunt opiniones: 1, negativa: 2, affirmativa: posterior (inquit Bellar.) eo nomine mihi gratior est, quod videam Lutherum, Calvinum, et Chemnicium, esse in priore opinione." Bellar. 2. Tom. v. contr. lib. I. cap. 2.

disadvantage their adversaries: as appeareth by Bellarmine[1], who, in the question, whether the eminent degree of bishops above presbyters be a distinct order of ministry, doth incline to the opinion of them that think it is, contrary to the judgment of the best learned of the schoolmen; for that thereby he may the more easily impugn the opinion of them that think bishops and presbyters to be all one, *jure divino*.

That which followeth is as little to the purpose as the rest. It is true that, in the assurance of the truth he professed, and the certain victory of the same over all the enemies of it, of what kind, degree, or sort soever, he esteemed all the greatness of the malicious adversaries thereof as vile as the dirt underneath his feet, though otherwise, out of this comparison with the truth, and opposition to it, he respected them as the greatness of their place did require. That he saith, he regardeth not a thousand Cyprians, a thousand Augustines, if they should be produced, proveth not that he thinketh them to be against him in the cause of religion, or that he contemneth them; but that no authority of men or angels shall ever remove him from that he knoweth to be the truth of God; as the apostle requireth the Galatians[2], "if an angel came from heaven and preach otherwise to them than they had been taught, to hold him accursed:" not as if the holy angels in heaven, now confirmed in grace, could either err themselves from the truth of the Gospel, or pervert others; or that they should be vilely esteemed of in the messages they bring to us; but that, if it were possible for them to err and mislead us, we should not listen unto them, but hold them accursed.

That out of his book of corner masses is as devilish a slander as the rest. For Luther doth not say he learned of the devil that the mass is impious and wicked; but that, having learned that in the school of Christ, the devil thereupon tempted him to despair, for that he had so often said such masses, and thereby dishonoured God, and misled his people: what this can prove against him I see not.

That he was of a violent spirit, we deny not: nay, himself glorified in it, that he had an heroical spirit, made to

[1] Bellar. lib. I. de sacramento ordinis: cap. 5, [sc. "Episcopatum esse ordinem unum cum presbyteratu sed genere non specie."]

[2] Gal. i. 8.

contemn the fury and folly of the Romanists: neither had he been fit to oppose against enemies of this kind, if he had been of another spirit. That he was carried too much with the violent stream of his passions, we impute it to the infirmity of flesh and blood, and the perverseness of the manifold adversaries he found in those times. Neither was this the peculiar or proper fault of Luther: for who knoweth not that Hierome and Chrysostom, and divers other lights of the world, were not without their blemishes in this kind.

That the Tigurines, Gesnerus, and others, disliked the distempered passions of Luther, is not to be marvelled at; or, that there were some differences amongst them; seeing the like were in former times between Epiphanius[1] and Chrysostom, Hierome, Ruffinus[2], Augustine[3], and others.

From Luther, the Jesuit cometh to the people of our profession; pronouncing that there are many wicked amongst his consorts, but that there are none good amongst those that are of the reformed religion. Thus, with the breath of his mouth, he thinketh to blow up all that standeth before him. But how proveth he that he saith? Our own confession, saith he, is proof enough. But, against this pretended and imagined confession, we protest and profess before God, men, and angels, that we never thought, much less spake or wrote any such thing. If Luther, in his sermons, complain that the world is every day worse than other, who was there ever found that used not words of the like complaint? If he say that the men of the world abuse the grace of God unto wantonness; and, the more and better means they have, be the worse; what strange thing saith he? Did not St Paul find that, when he magnified the riches of the grace of God,

[1] How many unkindnesses passed between Chrysostom and Epiphanius, who knoweth not? Did not the one refuse to pray with the other? Did not the one challenge the other for manifold breaches of the canon? Did not the one, inveighing against the other, profess that he hoped he should never die a bishop; and the other, that he should never come alive into his country? Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. VI. c. 13.

[2] The invectives of Hierome and Ruffinus one against another are extant, and August. Epist. wherein he sorroweth for their bitter dissensions.

[3] The Epistles of Augustine and Hierome, which the one wrote unto the other, shew what differences were between them.

and shewed that "where sin hath abounded, grace more abounded[1]," many took occasion to say, "It is good to continue in sin, that grace may abound." Doth he not charge the Corinthians, that there was "fornication amongst them[2]," and such as was not once named among the Gentiles? that they "went to law one with another, and that under infidels, to the slander of the Gospel of Christ?" that there was "not a wise man amongst them," to interpose himself, and stay these their proceedings one against another[3]?

That which is alleged out of Smidelinus, tendeth to the same purpose, and requireth no other nor further answer. Touching the judgment of Erasmus, it was so variable and uncertain in things of this kind, that neither they nor we can take any advantage by it. But, for the extraordinary sanctity of the Romish priests, friars, monks, and other irreligious amongst them, whereof they insolently boast and brag; if we should stir the dunghills of their own histories[4], wherein the lives of these saints are described unto us, the stench of them would infect the air: if we should make a report of that we read in authors not partial, men would stop their ears, and pronounce against us, that such things ought not once to be named amongst men. This is so evident, that Bellarmine, in his Preface before his Books of

[1] Rom. iii. 8. [2] 1 Cor. v. 1. [3] 1 Cor. vi. 1, 5.

[4] De Sylvestro II. legitur, quod "diabolo fecit homagium, quem etiam in papatu existens consuluit." Occam, lib. v. part I. cap. 2. Sicut legitur Chronicis, Johan. iii. erat venator et totus lubricus, adeo quod fœminas publice tenebat: propter quod quidam cardinalium et Romanorum scripserunt occulte, et cito imperatori Saxonum, ut scandalo compatiens Ecclesiæ Romanæ sine mora properaret. Hoc papa percipiens, Johan. diacono cardinali tanquam hujus facti conciliario nasum, et alteri Johan. subdiacono, qui literas scripsit, manum amputari fecit. Occam, part I. lib. v. cap. 5. Stephanus corpus Formosi e sepulchro in concilium protractum, et papali veste exutum, et laicali indutum, et abscissis duobus digitis dextræ manus ejus, in Tyberim præcipitari fecit. Sigeb. in Chron. fol. 113, anno 902. Alii idem narrant de Sergio; erat quidem pontifex qui nullum Deum credens, universum infidelitatis culmen excessit: alius professus est se non credere immortalitatem animæ: qui mortuus, eidem, cui hoc aperuerat, manifestans se, quem mortalem crediderat, tum maximo cum damno et perpetuis cum ignibus immortalem experiri. Picus Theo. de fide et ordine credendi.

the Pope, is not ashamed to make the wickedness and prodigious villanies of the popes a proof and demonstration of the sanctity of that chair in which they sit, and of God's provident care of it: which argument, though it seem strange at the first sight, yet it is, in his judgment, very forcible, and unanswerable: for that such, and so great hath been the wickedness of the Roman bishops, that, if God had not strangely upholden it, the see and chair in which they sit had long since sunk down into hell. Thus, I hope, it appeareth to all not wilfully blinded, that this note of the sanctity of the lives of the professors of religion, maketh very little for them, or against us. And thus have we run through and examined all the notes of the Church, by which they desire to be tried.

END OF VOLUME I.